THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 159 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 29, 1944 NUMBER 5

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 113

EDITORIALS
- Behind the Generals' Plot 115
- The Fall of Tojo 116

ARTICLES
- "Backward Area" *by I. F. Stone* 117
- The Battle of Chicago *by Freda Kirchwey* 118
- With the Red Army in Minsk *by Anna Louise Strong* 121
- 10 Years Ago in *The Nation* 122
- Gandhi's New Strategy *by Louis Fischer* 123
- Television Comes of Age *by Alan Barth* 125
- In the Wind 127

POLITICAL WAR
- Last of the Scapegoats *by Walter Mehring* 128
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 130

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 131
- Too Bad to Be True *by Franz Hoellering* 131
- History, Psychology, and Culture *by Abram Kardiner* 132
- Severn's Posthumous Life *by Rolfe Humphries* 134
- The Smaller Wars *by James Stern* 135
- Films *by James Agee* 137
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 137

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 139

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 74 *by Jack Barrett* 140

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Editor Political War Section
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL · JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER · REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

THE FULL POWER OF THE RED ARMY WAS unleashed on eight fronts last week, and the faltering Wehrmacht seemed unable to bring it to a halt. For 600 miles—from Ostrov near the Latvian border to Lvov in lower Poland—eight separate army groups of massive strength pushed the invaders back at an unprecedented rate. To Marshal Konev's First Ukrainian Army fell the honor of being the first to drive the Germans back across the line from which they invaded the Soviet Union a little more than three years ago. This southernmost drive, long and anxiously awaited by the Germans, more than justified their worst fears of it. Four German divisions were encircled near Brody and left to be disposed of, while the main thrust continued beyond Lvov, after hurdling the potentially strong line of the western Bug in a single day. The way was thus open for the envelopment of Lvov, and the unhinging of the strongest defense line short of central Poland. In the center the line was twice broken when the great fortress of Brest-Litovsk was flanked both to north and south. To the north, the taking of Grodno and the crossing of the Niemen virtually completed the work. As the week ended, the fate of the German troops in the Baltic states and the existence of the Brest-Litovsk and Lvov bastions hung in the balance. The balance was all tipped in the Russians' favor. Hitler's fantastic order "to defend each meter of territory," so correctly denounced by the captured General Hoffmeister, had paved the way for the largest-scale German disaster of the war. That disaster is not yet complete; but it already looms so large as to make a German retreat to the line Königsberg-Warsaw-Krakow seem inevitable.

*

THE BRITISH-CANADIAN ASSAULT EAST AND southeast from Caen may prove to be the Alamein of the western front. Before last week's powerful offensive the slowness of the Allied progress in Normandy was beginning to cause doleful head-shaking in some circles; but those who knew or guessed how crowded the beachhead was with men and guns remained cheerful. It is useless to expect dash from General Montgomery until he has built up overpowering strength; when he has built it up, one can expect just such a careful, thoroughly prepared hammer blow as he has now delivered. But he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is not content with power alone; the feint attack aimed southward from Caen earlier in the week allowed him to achieve tactical surprise, a considerable accomplishment on such a limited front. As at Alamein, the infantry-tank attack was preceded by an intense artillery barrage, this time augmented by what was probably the heaviest aerial bombardment ever directed against an army in the field. More than 7,000 tons of bombs were dropped on strong points and supply dumps in less than five hours, paving the way for a ground advance which covered considerably more ground the first day than the Alamein assault. Rommel obviously learned at Alamein the lesson of not committing his tanks against an attack of this nature; bad weather, limiting air support and miring the ground, may delay the Second Army in its advance toward Rommel's tank concentrations. But the scene is set for the chewing up of most of the enemy's strength in the west; if the chewing up is successful, we may see a breakthrough comparable to Alamein and a consequently rapid advance to the Seine between Paris and the sea.

✶

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM HAS THE GREAT merits of brevity and simplicity. On the whole it avoids the weasel words, ambiguous phrases, and contradictions that are so abundant in the Republican program, although, like all such political menus, it endeavors to provide a dish for every taste. In respect of international policy it does not go as far as some of us could wish, but it does come out squarely for an international organization with teeth in it—an organization "endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace." This is a great improvement on the Republican proposal of "a peace force"—a phrase apparently chosen to conceal the deep division of opinion inside the G. O. P. in regard to the use of collective force to guard collective security. At home the Democrats stand on the record of the New Deal, just as the Republicans do when one boils out the verbiage in their platform. Whatever happens in November, there will be no going back on the New Deal, provided that platform pledges mean anything. Again like the Republicans, the Democrats assert their faith in "free enterprise," but they give the assertion more substance by adding "free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority." Curiously enough, however, they don't follow this up with a promise to continue to reduce tariffs by means of trade agreements. In view of the twisted nature of the Republican tariff plank, it seems to us that the Democrats missed a bet here.

✶

THE PARAGRAPH ON RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS minorities in the Democratic platform has a Southern drawl. It expresses the vague and pious belief that these minorities have "the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights." It would not have been polite, in the presence of so many Southern gentlemen, to mention anything so specific as poll taxes and Jim Crow. The Republican plank was far more forthright—but few Negroes are likely to switch their votes on that account for the simple reason that the record of the Administration is much better than the Democratic plank—and within recent months there has been, on the race issue, too much wholehearted cooperation in Congress between reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats.

✶

THE UNITED NATIONS LIVED UP TO THEIR name at Bretton Woods, and provided a happy augury for the future in the successful conclusion of the world monetary and financial conference. Secretary Morgenthau and his able aides deserve commendation for the technical ability, the personal tact, and the enlightened views that made the meeting and its achievement possible. The world monetary fund promises to combine stability of exchanges with sufficient flexibility to permit each country to use deficit financing for full employment at home. It is thus a victory of Keynesian economic ideas over reliance on the so-called "automatic" gold standard. Emphasis in this monetary system is on government activity to maintain sound domestic economies rather than on the maintenance of a so-called "sound currency" at the expense of prices, wages, and employment. The launching of the new bank for international reconstruction and development was made the happier by a last-minute concession from Moscow, which agreed to its original $1,200,000,000 subscription to the bank after the other countries had accepted a reduction in the Russian quota to $900,000,000. The bank promises to free borrowing countries from dictation by American, British, Dutch, and French private bankers; to keep world interest rates down, and to prevent the kind of unwise lending that proved so disastrous in the twenties, particularly to American investors. The United States makes the largest contribution but stands also to gain the largest benefit. For enlarged world markets are a necessity if our war-expanded economy is to escape a disastrous deflation and maintain full employment.

✶

NOT CONTENT WITH HAVING DEPRIVED most of New York's service men and women of a vote through an excessively stringent war-ballot law, Mr. Dewey has misguidedly attempted to make political capital out of his refusal to accept the federal ballot in New York state. He charged the non-partisan committee and war veterans' organizations that had been campaigning for a federal ballot with using "unlimited

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

financial resources" to play "partisan politics with the right of New York State's fighting men to vote." The gist of Mr. Dewey's argument is that the state ballot is superior to the federal ballot in that it permits the soldier to vote for local as well as federal offices. He fails to indicate, however, why he has opposed all efforts to offer the state ballot to as many New York service men as possible through a canvass of their homes, as has been done successfully in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other states. And he ignores the plain fact that the New York law does not allow enough time betwen the mailing of the ballots and the deadline for their return to permit anything like a full vote from the men on the fighting fronts. As the Republican nominee for President, Mr. Dewey has the satisfaction of knowing that comparatively few soldier votes will be counted against him in the pivotal state of New York. But we suspect that his ill-tempered, petty manner of handling the soldier-vote issue will cost him, across the country, many more votes than he will have blocked in New York.

*

"WE BELIEVE THAT THE BEST SOLDIER IS THE informed soldier. We believe that we can fight a better war and end it sooner with men who know what is happening in the world." This statement by Colonel Robert Cutler, coordinator for the army of the Soldiers' Vote Act, is a cogent answer to Senator Robert Taft, who sponsored the stupid amendment designed to keep soldiers free from political contamination. The tardy repentance of Mr. Taft, who now declares himself in favor of liberalizing the act, is commendable but insufficient. The amendment should be thrown out altogether. There should be no "index" of books for soldiers, election year or no election year. The case of the permitted and forbidden magazines is even more serious than that of the books. The army has just issued a list of 189 magazines which may be distributed without scrutiny for political content. The majority of these are comics, westerns, and story magazines, but in the list are included all the mass-circulation magazines, most of which discuss and analyze news. Absent from the list are *The Nation,* the *New Republic, Common Sense,* and the *New Masses,* none of which could be described as pledged to the support of the Republican Party. The excuse given is that there is no soldier demand for these, an excuse we discount heavily as we consult our subscribers' list and our file of soldiers' letters. We have no complaint that conservative or anti-Administration magazines should have free circulation in the army even in an election year. We do insist that the soldiers have the same access to magazines of liberal opinion. A reactionary Congress is not satisfied with barring as many soldiers as possible from voting; it apparently intends that those who do manage to get a ballot be kept in the dark on the basic issues of the election.

CENSORSHIP, AS PHILIP WYLIE SAID A FEW weeks ago in *The Nation,* is becoming epidemic. It is ironic that what the army passes as fit for the troops is banned by Postmaster General Walker as unfit for the mails. The *Esquire* case has advanced one more step in its march to the Supreme Court. The original charge of obscenity was dropped when the case appeared before Judge T. Whitfield Davidson of the Federal District Court and the Postmaster was sustained on the basis of a statute written by members of Congress "brought up on the McGuffey Reader." The ancient law required that second-class mailing privileges be restricted to matter of educational value and the Postmaster could properly rule that *Esquire* did not fall into this classification. As we survey the list of magazines permitted in the army camps—the thirty-seven "comics," the twenty-six romance and adventure magazines, the thirteen detective magazines, the thirteen movie magazines—we realize in what jeopardy lies our freedom of reading (and looking). For the Postmaster General might, with the same validity, ban any of these. The army and Senator Taft can ban almost any "educational" magazine on the ground of its being political; the Postmaster can take care of the rest. Prepare the bonfires, boys. On the other hand, it may be a good time to repeal at least two acts of Congress so as to retrieve our self-respect as adult and free American citizens.

Behind the Generals' Plot

WHETHER or not reports of actual civil war are confirmed, Germany has reached a crisis comparable to that of September, 1918—a crisis which may prove the prelude to collapse. That is the meaning of the "bomb plot" announced on July 20, for although it is doubtful whether there really was a bomb, it is certain that there was a plot.

In attempting to interpret reports of the situation coming from official Nazi sources, we have to ask: (1) How much of the truth do they contain? (2) What is the purpose of the release of news which reflects so seriously on the internal situation in Germany? The probable answer to the second question is that the news of the attempted assassination of Hitler was broadcast to explain a revolt which was already public knowledge, to justify a purge of the armed forces intended to root out all doubtful elements, and to rally the army and the people around the Führer, once again miraculously saved by "providence." This is the technique of the Reichstag fire and the Röhm purge of June, 1934, and these analogies suggest in turn that there was no bomb; it was invented to dramatize Hitler's counter-measures.

Among these measures was the appointment of Heinrich Himmler as Commander of the army at home. News

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his appointment reached Sweden the day before the "explosion," and the day after a reported mutiny of two divisions in East Prussia. It is still impossible to sort out fact from rumor. When Hitler made his speech to the nation telling of his providential escape he referred to "a very small clique of criminal elements which will now be exterminated quite mercilessly." Two days later in an order of the day addressed to the army he said: "I know that you will fight with exemplary obedience and loyalty until victory is ours, in spite of all." Evidently he considered the appeal necessary.

Meanwhile the purge was apparently proceeding as Dr. Himmler ordered. Berlin announced that Colonel General Ludwig Beck was "no longer among the living." Other reports put the number of generals involved at a figure as high as fifty. It is significant that no protestations of loyalty have as yet come from top-ranking leaders such as Marshal von Brauschitsch, Field Marshal General Albert Kesselring, commander of the Italian front, Field Marshal General Walther von Modl, commander of the Russian front, or Field Marshal General Fritz Erich von Mannstein. The fact that Hitler, Goering, and Admiral Doenitz all gave emphatic warnings to the armed services to beware of false orders suggests that the disaffection is widespread. It may well be that Mr. Churchill was justified when recently he said to the troops in Normandy: "Opposite you is an enemy whose central power is crumbling."

The recent removal from their posts of Marshal von Rundstedt and General von Falkenhausen, two of the old-line officers, and the bitter criticism of Hitler by General Hoffmeister after his capture on the eastern front indicate a deepening split between the German army and the Nazis. Yet these two elements are the twin pillars of German aggression. The army could not have organized the nation for war without the Nazis; the Nazis could not have gained power without the backing of the army. But now that defeat is approaching each seeks to make the other responsible. Hitler, convinced that the Allies will not come to terms with him, wants to fight on, waiting in his mystic way for a miracle. The Junker chiefs know they can't win. They hope that by jettisoning Hitler they can save themselves and their caste and preserve Germany from that total defeat that would make a "next time" impossible. That means they believe that the Allies can be persuaded to negotiate; otherwise, as Walter Mehring points out on page 128, they themselves would have to accept the burden of "unconditional surrender," for there are no other shoulders on which it can be loaded. We think they are fooling themselves; the Allied leaders certainly will not consent to any terms that leave German militarism a chance to recover. The signs of German disintegration are not an opportunity to make deals; they are, rather, an inspiration to complete the process by unrelenting pressure.

The Fall of Tojo

THE overthrow of Premier Tojo will undoubtedly have a profound influence on the course of the Pacific war. In a somewhat less dramatic way it is fully as significant as the generals' plot against Hitler. For although Tojo never succeeded in establishing as complete a one-man rule over Japan as Hitler exercises in Germany, he came closer to it than any other man in modern Japanese history. Japan's efficiency as a military power was in large part due to the centralization of control which he succeeded in establishing. And beyond the power which he wielded as Premier, War Minister, and Chief of Staff, Tojo was of great value to the militarists as a symbol of Japan's expansionist dreams. He had tremendous prestige as the conqueror of Guam, the Philippines, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, and Burma. He had initiated the thousand-year war which was to lead to world conquest with eternal glory for the Emperor.

Tojo's enforced resignation is especially welcome news, therefore, because it indicates that the recent defeats in India, the South Pacific, and Saipan, have sufficiently overshadowed his earlier victories in the Japanese mind to make him a liability rather than an asset to morale. This suggests that the Japanese military situation looks even worse from Tokyo than it does from this country. Specifically, it implies the failure of the Japanese offensive in China. For if there were any immediate probability that that drive could be brought to successful fruition, Tojo could almost certainly have held on for a time at least.

But the most significant sign of Japanese weakness is to be found in the choice of such contrasting personalities as General Koiso and Admiral Yonai to form a new government. Koiso is an extremist, generally believed to be personally responsible for the border incidents involving the Soviet Union several months ago. The drubbing given to his forces on that occasion probably accounts for his temporary withdrawal from public life. He has presumably led the extremist critics of Tojo. Admiral Yonai, who was premier in 1940, has never been associated with the militarist clique and formerly had the reputation of being a moderate.

The new government can in no sense be regarded as a "peace movement." A government headed by General Koiso is not likely to give up the vast empire that Japan has conquered in the past thirteen years, still less accede to unconditional surrender. The new government will undoubtedly attempt to intensify the Japanese war effort in the hope of staving off complete defeat. A coalition government, it lacks the monolithic strength of the Tojo regime. It is difficult to see how it can long survive—except through a military miracle. And the landings on Guam, with the imminent prospect of more intensive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bombings of Japan itself, make it evident that any miracle that is performed will be under direction of Admiral Nimitz.

In normal times Japanese governments rarely last more than a year. Under present circumstances it would be rash to assume that the Koiso Cabinet would last half that long. Quite possibly there will be a succession of cabinets, all of a more or less stop-gap nature, until a genuine people's government is set up which will recognize the fact of defeat and be prepared to surrender. Meanwhile, we must press home the military advantage that is ours by virtue of Japanese internal dissension. The overthrow of Tojo is an immense accomplishment, but the military clique is still in the saddle and will only be deposed by the armed might of the United Nations.

"Backward Area"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 21

I HAVE been browsing through press releases by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Committee for Economic Development, *Federal Reserve Bulletins,* monthly bank letters from New York, League of Nations reports, and an exciting "not for publication" speech by a Swedish economist. I suggest that in the post-war period the world's most troublesome "backward area" will not be China or India, Africa or Latin America or the Balkans, but the United States.

The industrial backwardness of the colonial areas is a less serious world problem than the intellectual backwardness of the American business community. The former represents an opportunity; the latter a threat. It will be regrettable if the development of the colonial countries is not accelerated, for they could add enormously to the world volume of trade. It will be disastrous if the American economy is badly managed after the war, for world stability and prosperity will depend to a greater extent than ever on stability and prosperity in the United States.

Unwise lending by American private bankers, the absorption of capital from abroad by the American stock-market boom, the effects of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, and the inability of the Hoover Administration to stem deflation at home played major roles in the great depression, but the United States of the '20's had only about 45 per cent of the world's productive capacity (outside the U. S. R. R.). The United States of the '40's will emerge from the war with close to three-fourths of the world's productive capacity. While our own power to produce has been increased by about 50 per cent, the war has brought about a corresponding reduction in the capacity of the other industrial nations. The United States will be the center of world economic gravity after the war.

There is little indication that American business has any conception of the stark magnitude of its problem. One set of figures may help illuminate it. In the May issue of *Federal Reserve Bulletin* there is an important article on jobs after the war by E. A. Goldenweiser and Everett E. Hagen. They set themselves the task of estimating in concrete terms the volume of production and consumption required after the war to maintain a national income of $170 billion a year, a level they consider necessary to keep unemployment down to two million.

They figure that if federal, state, and local government spending falls no lower than $30 billion a year, and if new plant and equipment in industry absorb $15 billion, and if residential construction can be raised to the unprecedented level of $7 billion, and if inventories increase by $3 billion, and if exports exceed imports by $2 billion, consumer purchases will have to reach $113 billion to reach that goal of but two million unemployed. Let us see what that means in terms of consumer durables. The sale of consumer durables reached the highest peak in our history in 1941, when we turned out 3,700,000 automobiles, 13,700,000 radio sets, 3,500,000 household refrigerators, and almost 2,000,000 electric washing machines. Sales of consumer durables would have to be 50 per cent higher than that to achieve a national income of $170 billion.

The obstacle to the achievement of that goal lies in the realm of ideas and habits, in older ways of thinking and doing business, rather than in material capacity. Under the stimulus of war, national income is running over $200 billion a year, $30 billion more than that post-war goal. The experience of the war period has shown that business can increase profits despite high wages and high taxes when the volume of demand is great enough to bring about full utilization of facilities. The resultant decline in unit overhead costs is so great as to counterbalance or even outweigh the rise in the wage and tax bill. Full employment under peace-time conditions would require a steep increase in wages to support consuming power, but there seems little reason to doubt that it would also maintain profits at a high level.

All this is difficult of achievement in a capitalist sys-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tem where every entrepeneur operates independently and pretty much by rule of thumb. A workable solution would be some means of combining freedom of enterprise—as a dynamic force in creating new industries—with sufficient central planning and coordination to insure joint action for maximum employment of facilities and manpower. In other fields of human activity it has not been impossible to combine liberty and order, and it is not impossible in the economic sphere. But in the typical expressions of supposedly considered business opinion one catches no glimpse of these horizons. The post-war "program" released here this week by the United States Chamber of Commerce is as evasive, as windy as anything in the Republican or Democratic platform. And the Committee for Economic Development isn't much better.

These so-called business programs—they aren't really programs at all but public-relations campaigns to build up private enterprise by ballyhoo—beg the question at every major point and nowhere get down to a serious discussion of actual problems. About the only thing clear in them is that business men want lower taxes. Here is what the United States Chamber of Commerce offers under "expansion of domestic economy": "Encourage the opening up of new frontiers of opportunity for the investment of capital and the expansion of business activity, small and large, with special attention to agricultural and urban development, to transportation and communication, and to management-labor relations. Support social-security measures which have been approved by business." This is a grab-bag of clichés and hedges, and this comes from an organization headed by a so-called "progressive" business man, Eric Johnston!

I'm afraid it will take a terrific jolt to wake these people up, and I'm not sure they have the capacity to adjust themselves. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist who knows this country more intimately than most Americans do, told the National Economic Society of Sweden in March that the dirtiest trick the Japanese could play on us would be to surrender when Hitler does. Considering our lack of preparation to carry on at anywhere near an adequate level without war orders, Myrdal thinks the effect would be "an economic catastrophe for America." That would also be an economic catastrophe for the world. The thing that most impresses one at a conference like Bretton Woods is how much better prepared the most conservative European business men are than our own to adjust themselves to the social and economic realities of the post-war period. Perhaps while we get ready to export capital to Europe, Europe had better get ready to export a few ideas to America.

The Battle of Chicago

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Chicago, July 21

YOU can't help liking Democrats even when they let their bosses tell them how to vote. You like them because they are noisy, good-humored, common; because they enjoy themselves; because some of the fervor of their orators sounds real and most of the response of the crowd is spontaneous. You like them because they voice their differences with such abandon and then make up with such hearty good-will. You like them because they are not Republicans.

Leaving the convention tonight after eight unbroken hours of windy speeches and tedious balloting, of yelling and marching, of hot dogs and cokes and hard seats, the delegates I talked to were bent on one thing: to get cleaned up and go out for some "real" food and drink. All factions united on this immediate program—and those I saw an hour later had accomplished the last item at least.

Before sitting down to put these impressions on paper I reread I. F. Stone's story of the Republican convention three weeks ago. He reported the "bovine apathy" of the delegates as they moved into the Dewey camp; the genteel country-club atmosphere of the whole assembly. "Human hamburger," Mr. Stone called it, "served up as Salisbury steak with a sprig of parsley." In Chicago this week the hamburger was plain chopped meat on the rare side and it was flavored with onions rather than parsley. Even at the end when the delegates stampeded into the Truman camp they did it amid cheers, jeers, and general uproar. There was no apathy visible in the Stadium tonight, nor at previous sessions. Nothing was cut and dried; deals made in upstairs rooms at the Stevens and Sherman had to be fought out on the floor. The party bosses worked for their triumph.

But they won. The job for the rest of us is to examine their victory, try to figure out how decisive it was, assess the strength of the progressive forces, analyze the strategy used—and then lay plans for future action. The story isn't a simple one, and some of the facts needed to make it clear are still known only to a few inside workers. But in sum the convention showed that the Democratic Old Guard is now in a position to gain control of the party; it showed that the liberal elements in the organization are sadly demoralized; and it showed that only labor, acting through the C. I. O. Political Action Committee,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has had enough strength and political acumen to put up an effective if losing fight. Let's look at those assertions one by one.

First, the Old Guard. I use that tag to cover both the leaders of the Southern conservatives and those of the Northern city machines. They disagree on a lot of issues —but they worked together at Chicago. The Southern revolt against the Fourth Term fizzled out in the fight to defeat Wallace; only the Texas "regulars" were left stubborn and resentful, but their threats were louder than their acts: I still feel sure they will fall into line behind Roosevelt and Truman, for they must know that the present direction of the party offers new opportunities for the Texas brand of reaction.

Next, the liberal elements in the party. Their demoralization was clearly demonstrated by the President's letters and by various events at Chicago. The Old Guard was able to force the President to abandon Wallace. If he had come out clearly and directly for Wallace, without "dictation," the Vice-President would have been renominated. Even Mr. Roosevelt's first letter, with the sentence about "pros and cons" omitted, might have saved the day. But the second letter, tacitly assuming the Vice-President's defeat and expressing approval of either Truman or Douglas, was a death blow and many of the Wallace forces knew it. In that letter the President offered his unconditional surrender to Hannegan and Hague, Kelly and Flynn. The machine men had convinced him that Wallace's nomination would injure the party's chances by alienating still further the dissident Southern leaders. It was a typical "insider's" argument; it ignored the evidence of polls and popular demonstrations; it rested entirely on the necessity of keeping the state and local leaders in line and the party organization intact.

This position was strengthened rather than countered by the role of the Wallace forces in the various delegations. The best one can say for them is that they were decent and restrained. A few, like Senator Guffey, worked night and day for their candidate. But as a whole they were unprepared, unorganized, dispersed, ineffective. Some wanted Wallace to come out to Chicago and lead his own fight. Others opposed his coming as undignified and dangerous. Wallace headquarters were at the Sherman; the chief work of the convention was carried on at the Stevens where the Democratic National Committee was located and most of the important delegations were lodged. From the point of view of public effect this was disastrous. It is true that the Missouri delegation was also at the Sherman, but this did Truman little harm since his fate hung on the manipulations of the bosses, not on popular enthusiasm. Wallace had to show that he was, in fact, the "people's choice." But the warm and spontaneous demonstration that greeted him on his arrival at the Sherman was hardly known to the delegates as a whole; had it taken place at the Stevens it would have made a big impression. Nor were later activities better handled by his own crowd. His first press conference was jammed, badly arranged, and not very successful. On the day the convention formally opened the Wallace forces had not even turned out a piece of literature; there wasn't a Wallace button or ribbon or placard or banner. Undoubtedly his supporters were busy talking to delegates and political leaders. But in the situation that developed at Chicago, such efforts, while indispensable, were not enough. What was needed was overpowering public demonstration that the Wallace cohorts were strong, that they were fighting, that they intended to win. Not a hint of that mood could be detected. On the contrary, some of Wallace's chief advisers in the party insisted that he could not afford the ballyhoo of political propaganda; it would be incompatible with his position as Vice-President. With this counsel of dignity and reserve I strongly disagree. A bitter fight was fought at Chicago. No holds were barred by the other crowd. Either the Wallace backers had to take off their coats and wade in or they might better have given up in advance. As it was they did neither and lost.

From this criticism I want specifically to exempt Senator Guffey. He was the dynamic center of the pro-Wallace elements and he did all one man could to bring the Pennsylvania delegation behind the Vice-President and to line up key people from other states. But Guffey wasn't equipped to run a headquarters or a campaign; he had not even the facilities at hand to put out a press release. Those jobs belonged to the people at Wallace's headquarters in the Sherman. They fell down on them badly.

Undoubtedly the President's letters played a part in the moral rout of the liberal elements in the convention. They had to pretend that the first letter was a full, generous endorsement instead of a polite brush-off. They had to pretend that the second, fatal letter was merely a formal acknowledgement that Mr. Roosevelt would accept the will of the convention even if it chose someone other than the man he wanted. Neither pretense could possibly be made to ring true. The pro-Wallace liberals were forced to hold a position their leader had abandoned. This fact accounts for part of their ineffectiveness; but only part. Without regard to the President's action, they were not prepared to put up a strong fight for their candidate. Their failure has implications that reach far beyond the defeat of Henry A. Wallace at the Stadium this evening.

Now for the C. I. O. It is not without reason that the opponents of Wallace have charged Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray and the other leaders of the Political Action Committee with running the Wallace campaign. The twist the Old Guard and their newspaper backers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give the facts is, of course, designed to alarm and mislead; but the truth is, the C. I. O. group here has done a remarkable job of tough political fighting. They have refused to be demoralized by the President's letters or tricked by the maneuvers of the party bosses. They stuck by Wallace to the end, knowing well the elements ganged up to bring about his defeat. They have used pressure where pressure was needed—for example, to force the withdrawal of Byrnes. They have talked votes to key party leaders from all over the country. Through C. I. O. members who are delegates they have worked hard to win the delegations from doubtful states. They have issued releases, arranged press conferences. It is owing to the Political Action Committee that on Thursday and Friday Wallace badges appeared on delegates' coat lapels and Wallace placards blossomed all over the floor and galleries of the Stadium. The P. A. C. did what Wallace's own backers in the party failed to do and they did it with a degree of zeal and honest conviction that was refreshing. That they did the job effectively, not as amateurs but as experienced political campaigners, is attested to by their enemies. The C. I. O. was nowhere discounted; as Mark Sullivan said yesterday, "It has been the frequent observation of newsmen and politicians that the C. I. O. committee and its leader, Mr. Sidney Hillman, has been the most powerful single factor in the convention."

Now this kind of talk was not, as you may imagine, intended to improve the fortunes of either the Democratic Party or of Mr. Wallace. Word spread around the Stadium that the P. A. C. was trying to control the convention and the party, and that only the nomination of Truman could save them from a C. I. O. dictatorship. This fear was deliberately stimulated by the anti-Wallace crowd. I heard people say, as if with sincere regret, that they were afraid that those C. I. O.'s had spoiled the Vice-President's chances. But if the efforts of the labor people partly boomeranged it is merely further proof of the feeble character of the other pro-Wallace activity. No doubt it would have been strategically preferable to have Wallace ribbons and placards issued from Wallace headquarters. No doubt the arguments of Iowa delegates would have been less subject to political distortion than those of the C. I. O. leaders. The answer is simple. Without the activity of the C. I. O. *there would have been no Wallace campaign whatsoever.*

The P. A. C. fought well and lost. On Thursday night it came within an inch of winning. With so much work to do, the Wallace forces had been stalling for time, while Hannegan wanted to rush through the Vice-Presidential nomination immediately after the President's acceptance speech. But suddenly the tactics shifted on both sides. Wallace's speech seconding the nomination of Roosevelt set off a spontaneous outburst of Wallace enthusiasm. It kept on in spite of the gavel of the chairman and the Wallace backers promptly decided that his moment had come. They let it be known that they favored Hannegan's plan to hold the Vice-Presidential nomination on Thursday evening. But Hannegan knew how to change his mind too. When he saw the galleries and floor white with Wallace placards and felt the pull toward Wallace among the delegates he lost interest in a quick nomination. The session was adjourned and all hands got to work.

The Hannegan-Flynn-Kelly-Hague cohorts are good in a clinch. They shoved the President's second letter under doubtful noses. They said the President had expressed his preference for Truman in personal long-distance conversations. They pointed out that in 1940 when he really wished to have Mr. Wallace nominated the President hadn't hesitated to say so. Throughout Thursday night the anti-Wallace men worked on the delegates and the party leaders. And finally they accumulated the promises that came to roost today.

The strength of the pro-Wallace labor forces may be measured by this incident. In the final engagement the bosses won. But to do so they had to throw in their heaviest armored divisions. And they had to compromise. The nomination of Truman was a negative victory for which the Political Action Committee can take full credit. If labor had not made itself felt as an organized political force, to be appeased since it could not be bought, the Old Guard would have nominated a Byrnes or Byrd. As it was, they had to find a man with a persuasive liberal record to defeat Wallace, a man whose nomination would insure the ticket the support of the Wallace forces themselves.

But let us not fool ourselves with the idea that the choice of Truman almost compensates for the defeat of Wallace. In spite of this forced concession, the convention ended with the combined reactionary forces in the Democratic Party, North and South, more firmly in control than at any time since 1932. Their drive for power was challenged but not stopped by the rise of a vigorous political labor organization. The battle is over for the moment. But as the tumult and shouting dies out in a hundred bars and special club cars, as the precinct captains and party bosses depart for home, it is evident that the struggle of the last few days has cleared the political air of many ambiguities. Lines have been drawn more sharply; an open division has been made between reactionaries and progressives—a division which even the President's letters failed to blur. The campaign that lies ahead will temporarily hold the opposing factions together in an alliance of necessity, since the immediate job is to defeat Dewey and prevent the return of the Republicans to power. It will not serve to disarm the forces that rallied to the vigorous leadership of the P. A. C. The Battle of Chicago has opened a new phase of an old war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the Red Army in Minsk

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

[*Anna Louise Strong, a sympathetic observer of developments in Russia for more than two decades, has recently returned via Siberia to Moscow. This is the first of a series of exclusive cables which Miss Strong will send to* The Nation *as the Red Army pushes on toward Germany.*]

Moscow, July 16, by Cable

EVERY night since my arrival in Moscow ten days ago fireworks have exploded colorfully over the city in salutes to victory, celebrating the freeing of cities which for three years have been under German rule. The crowds watch the bright bursts of fire against the pale summer night without applause but with deep satisfaction .They always believed this day would come.

Three capitals of Soviet republics, Petrozavodsk, Minsk, and Wilno, freed in the past fortnight, nineteen German generals captured in nineteen days, one a day—these achievements indicate the immensity of the Red Army's success.

The present operations are chiefly notable for the tremendous depth of the battlefield and the smashing speed of the advance across the swamps, rivers, and woods of White Russia. The entire front has moved 150 miles in six days from the Vitebsk-Mogilev line to the Polotsk-Baranovichi line. General Krilov's army entering Wilno advanced 240 miles in twelve days. As at Vitebsk, Bobruisk, and Minsk the Russians have used the classic tactics of encirclement. Now, while part of the Red Army mops up pockets of Germans who have been surrounded, other forces are plunging ahead to make new encirclements.

When I flew to Minsk in the special correspondents' plane on July 6, mopping-up battles were going on all around us; thousands of Germans were being dug out of the woods, some confusedly fighting, others surrendering to the first passer-by. Three surrendered to American correspondents.

Long talks with the prisoners showed me they had a depressed awareness of ultimate German defeat but not the slightest sense of German blame. Ten slightly wounded Germans groused because they were unfed and untreated two hours after their capture—in the city where the Germans had themselves destroyed all hospitals and food stocks. They seemed to expect the Red Army to find supplies for prisoners in the ruins. As a matter of fact, the Red Army was apparently equal even to this, for next morning I saw long lines of prisoners neatly bandaged en route to the rear.

The very different treatment given by the Germans to Red Army prisoners was described to me by various Minsk citizens, among them Hassia Prusolina, a former teacher of Russian history in the medical university. Hassia is a Jewess who escaped from the Minsk ghetto established by the Germans and stayed on in the city as a charwoman, with forged papers, for nearly a year. During this time she was in contact with White Russian partisans, helping them to get medical supplies. Her previous connections with medical students enabled her to smuggle out stuff even from German hospitals, if Russian doctors were working in them. Finally the Germans grew suspicious and Hassia had to flee. She lived in the woods as a partisan fighter from the autumn of 1942 until the Red Army took Minsk. "It is hard to get used to being under a roof again," she said, as we sat in the dining-room of a villa formerly occupied by the enemy staff and now temporarily serving as quarters for the American correspondents.

Hassia told me that in January, 1942, the Germans put thousands of Russian prisoners into unheated box cars and left them for seven days without food, then drove them into the Minsk streets. Those who couldn't walk were shot where they fell. From the freight yard to the Academy of Science the streets were filled with dead. Passers-by wept, but any man or woman who approached the prisoners to offer them water or food was shot. This story was confirmed by several other persons in Minsk.

The most gruesome tales were told by twelve Jews who believed themselves to be the only survivors of 120,000 Jews from many other localities who passed through the Minsk ghetto. Minsk, they said, was an extermination station for Viennese and Czech Jews. Nehemiah Zimmermann, whose cousin works in Brooklyn, and Ethillel Yabroz, who claims three brothers in New York, were first rounded up in Baranovichi, where the Germans established a ghetto of 12,000 persons. They said that the first pogrom in March, 1942, killed

"And he's sent his luggage in advance."—*by Neb.*
Courtesy London *Daily Mail*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

6,000 women, children, and old people unable to work. Workers got green tickets—"tickets to life." Later pogroms killed all except the more skilled specialists needed by the Germans. Twelve of these specialists were brought to Minsk. "Perhaps we look like people, but we are no longer really people," said one of them. "I had to stand with a green card in my hand and watch my wife put in a gas truck and driven away to death. After that one is not a man any more."

The Minsk ghetto was similarly decimated. From September, 1942, to October, 1943, thirty-nine trains averaging a thousand Jews each arrived from Vienna, Hamburg, and Czechoslovakian towns. Out of every train a handful of skilled workers were saved; the others were killed.

A hundred Jews were working in an automobile repair shop when the Germans began to evacuate the city at the approach of the Red Army. Knowing the Germans would kill them before they left, several of them managed to escape, hiding under ruined buildings for two days without water or food. The rest were shut up in the cellar of the Gestapo building, the former Soviet Medical Institute, and burned alive when the building was drenched with gasoline and set on fire. The surviving Jewish mechanics have given to Soviet investigators the names of the Germans who ordered the atrocities. One was a German sadist who exulted, "That's my ten-thousandth Jew," after shooting a group of helpless people. He made the remark tauntingly as he offered a cigarette to a Jew whose life was saved so that he could repair machines.

The hollow, charred walls of Minsk looked as if they could never be rebuilt. One of the American correspondents, after driving through blocks on blocks of ruins, remarked, "Here's where I would quit." However, the Mayor of Minsk and the City Soviet have already returned from partisan hideouts in the woods and set the inhabitants to work.

"The first task was to get rid of mines," the city official showing me around said. The partisan troops helped in this. The next task was to list abandoned German stores and put them under guard for public use. These things were mostly done during the first two days. Transport workers are repairing railway and street cars. The waterworks will deliver water in a few days. Minsk looks bad, but actually its condition is more hopeful than that of many other cities. The Red Army came swiftly, and the Germans left in a panic without time to make the destruction complete. There were many good patriots in Minsk who at the risk of their lives managed that night to disconnect the wires that were to blow up factories and other buildings. "How long will it take to rebuild?" I asked my guide. A shadow fell on his face as he admitted, "Many, many years."

The crowds in the Moscow streets watching the victory salutes are deeply content, but they are not lighthearted. They are preparing to restore the land that is freed.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

YIELDING TO RANK-AND-FILE pressure, William Green has grudgingly consented to the formation of a United Automobile Workers' National Council—a first step toward forming "one big union" of automotive workers. —*July 4, 1934.*

BOSTON HAD ANOTHER TEA PARTY a few weeks ago, to welcome the Nazi propaganda ship Karlsruhe. To be precise, there were two tea parties. At the first one, Governor Ely and Mayor Mansfield received the Hitlerite "good-will" gesture very cordially. The second meeting was sponsored by the Boston Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, supported by a number of other anti-fascist organizations, including the Marine Workers' Union and the Irish Workers' Club, and was attended by several hundred Harvard, Radcliffe, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology students. According to the report of an official investigating committee, signed by Professors Arthur N. Holcombe, Ralph Barton Perry, and William Ernest Hocking, the police drove the demonstrators off the lot where they had assembled, and kicked, cuffed, and clubbed with indiscriminate fury. Twenty-one persons were arrested, and three of them were slugged after they had reached the station house, one of them, at least, into unconsciousness.—*July 4, 1934.*

IF UPTON SINCLAIR WINS the Democratic nomination, there will be a battle for fair with all the big-business Democrats flocking together with the Republicans to try to keep him out of the governorship. . . . "End Poverty in California" is Sinclair's slogan, which abbreviated gives the word EPIC, and this his campaign may well turn out to be.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *July 11, 1934.*

AS THE SMOKE FROM NAZI RIFLES begins to lift from the scene of tragedy, it becomes possible to obtain a clearer view of the background and significance of the recent sanguinary events in the Reich. . . . Ernst Röhm, founder of the Storm Troops, has always possessed a totally different conception of the use of that body from that held by his close personal friend and chief, Adolf Hitler. . . . Meanwhile the Storm Troopers, composed almost entirely of young men without other means of support, had become openly discontented over the delay in putting the socialist half of the Nazi program into effect.—*July 18, 1934.*

THE FRENZY OF THE FILM CENSORS has grown to cyclonic proportions. A great white cloud of purity hangs over Hollywood. Cardinal Hayes and Dr. Tippy (for the Protestants) have spoken, Will Hays has answered meekly, and Mae West is revising her latest picture. . . . We are convinced that Mae West, like love, will find a way.—*July 25, 1934.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gandhi's New Strategy

BY LOUIS FISCHER

IT IS clear now that Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail not only for reasons of health. Gandhi was arrested on August 9, 1942. In January, 1944, he received, for the first time, a notice from the British government setting forth its reasons for his detention and granting him the right to make representations against further incarceration. There then ensued a fascinating exchange of letters between Gandhi and Viceroy Wavell, which I have read.

This correspondence was the preliminary to Gandhi's liberation and to his recent attempt at an understanding with the Moslems of India and the British. Seventy-five years old, bone and skin, brain and will, that man Gandhi is still, as Lord Linlithgow, Wavell's predecessor, said to me, "the biggest thing in India."

When one reconstructs India's recent history it develops that Britain quelled a near-rebellion during the last five months of 1942. Arson, murder, and serious property damage in strategic war areas were met with harsh repressive measures, including machine-gunning by military planes. The British won a victory. But it is indisputable that the battle could have been avoided. Even Gandhi, and certainly many of his close advisers, did not want the civil-disobedience movement which began on August 9, 1942. In fact, they never launched it. The resolution favoring it was adopted, but Gandhi hesitated and did not act to carry out the decision. He still hoped for a compromise with the British. Twice he asked for an interview with Linlithgow, and twice Linlithgow refused. It was the arrest of Gandhi and of thousands of his followers which precipitated the disturbances before the Indian National Congress Party had issued any orders defying the government.

There is reason to believe that the British government did not recoil from a test of strength with the nationalist movement of India; indeed, Churchill, the fighting imperialist, probably relished it. In 1935 Winston Churchill said, "Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed." . . . Since 1935, of course, Churchill has not become less anti-Gandhi. He has become the King's First Minister, though not in order to liquidate the British Empire. As Prime Minister he can grapple with Gandhism and all it stands for. The events of 1942, after the failure of the Cripps mission, offered him an opportunity to do so.

That wasteful, bloody struggle between the British raj and the Indian champions of independence ended in Gandhi's defeat. The defeat taught Gandhi a profound lesson which he is now applying; it induced him to compromise on a basic tenet of his political faith—the unity of India. The vivisection of India into a Hindustan and a Moslem "Pakistan" has always been regarded by Gandhi as a sin against God, as "blasphemy." In my talks with him in 1942 his mind was closed against it. Gandhi is a queer mixture of stubbornness and pliability. He is unyielding because he is fanatically conscious of his life's mission to free India. On the other hand, he is a natural compromiser because, as he said to me, "I can never be sure I am right."

The 1942 disturbance also taught Wavell a valuable lesson: the suppression of riots does not solve the problem of governing India. The Indian population today is sullen and non-cooperative, and the whole country faces economic distress if not famine. India is living through a terrible crisis born of the loss of hope. This is what confronts Wavell in the next four years of his viceregal term. Wavell is no Linlithgow. He is a political philosopher, a man of culture, a beautiful writer, shy, thoughtful, and often very frank.

Sobered by their experiences since 1942, Gandhi and Wavell are both ready to make another attempt at an adjustment of rival British and Indian interests. This appears from their astonishing correspondence, which began with a letter Gandhi sent to Wavell, his jailer, on February 17, 1944. Gandhi addresses Wavell as "Dear Friend" and explains that "since I regard myself as a friend and servant of humanity, including the British, in token of my good-will I call you, foremost representative of the British in India, my 'friend.'" That is the way it begins, but then the Mahatma passes to the attack and warns against British self-satisfaction with the situation in India. He urges "a searching of hearts in British high places."

Wavell replied on February 25, 1944, with a short note, formal but not stiff, in which he takes "this opportunity to express to you deep sympathy from my wife and myself at the death of Mrs. Gandhi. We understand what this loss must mean to you after so many years of companionship."

Gandhi's response is dated "Detention Camp, March 9, 1944," and fills six and a half typewritten pages, double-space. After some strangely unconventional personal references to his relations with his wife, he deals with the Indian attitude toward the war, Japan, and India's future, and reiterates the view that the government provoked the 1942 difficulties. Gandhi advises

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wavell to meet India's leaders and "discuss the pros and cons of their policy with them." He even invites the Viceroy to fly down and talk with him in prison. "We are all friends of the British, however much we may criticize the British government and system in India. If you can but trust, you will find us to be the greatest helpers in the fight against Nazism, Fascism, Japanism, and the like."

Wavell sent a three-page answer on March 28 of this year. He stands by the Cripps offer and defends British policy. He criticizes the Congress Party and condemns its present attitude as "hindering and not forwarding Indian progress to self-government and development." ". . . I do not accuse you or the Congress Party of any wish deliberately to aid the Japanese," writes Wavell, but he expresses the opinion that Congress action did impede the war effort. Then, "to sum up, I believe that with general cooperation we can in the immediate future do much to solve India's economic problems and can make steady and substantial progress toward Indian self-government. I believe that the greatest contribution that the Congress Party can make toward India's welfare is to abandon the policy of non-cooperation and join whole-heartedly with the other Indian parties and with the British in helping India forward in economic and political progress—not by any dramatic or spectacular stroke but by hard and steady work toward the end ahead."

This is the little official olive branch.

Gandhi did not mince words in his last letter, dated April 9, 1944. "As I visualize India today," he declares, "it is one vast prison containing 400,000,000 souls. You are its sole custodian. Government prisons are prisons within this prison. . . . Is it not high time that you cooperated with the people of India through their elected representatives instead of expecting cooperation from them?"

Within a month—on May 5, 1944—Wavell freed Gandhi. As soon as Gandhi had recuperated from his almost fatal illness he asked to see Wavell and to confer with Nehru and the other executive members of the Congress Party who are still in jail. Failing that, he intimated to friends in Bombay, he might just as well go back to the detention camp, for his release would have served no useful purpose. Both requests were rejected.

At this crucial point Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari enters the picture. There is no keener mind in India than that of "C. R." as he is mercifully called. Sixty-five years old, intimate friend of Gandhi, father of the wife of Gandhi's son Devadas, leading nationalist and anti-imperialist, former prime minister of the Congress government of Madras, and a high-caste Brahmin, C. R. is the third outstanding figure in the Indian independence movement. Gandhi is its prophet, Nehru its poet, thinker, and crusader, Rajagopalachari its statesman. C. R. spent ten days with Gandhi near Bombay between June 30 and July 8. On July 9, 1944, Gandhi published his now-famous proposal for a settlement of the Indian political problem. The hand of C. R. is discernible throughout the text.

In the proposal Gandhi offers to form an Indian nationalist government with the Moslem League. That government would support the war, but military affairs are reserved as the exclusive province of the British. In relation to the new government the British Viceroy would play the same role as King George does toward the British Cabinet, that is, he could not veto its decisions.

Assuming Hindu-Moslem collaboration within such a government during the war, the Moslem population of India can, if it so expresses itself in a plebiscite after the war, establish its own Moslem state. This partition of India, however, Gandhi makes contingent on British withdrawal from India, not now, but when peace comes. C. R. has presented the plan to Jinnah, head of the Moslem League.

I spent many hours in exciting conversation with Rajagopalachari in Bombay in June, 1942. My diary entries, which are practically verbatim accounts of those talks, show how C. R.'s ideas helped shape the present Gandhi proposals. "If we arrive at an understanding with the British about complete independence after the war," he said to me, "and about Pakistan if the Moslems want it after the war when elections and boundary rectifications become possible, there will be no difficulty about Jinnah's participation in a responsible Indian Cabinet government." He even envisaged the possibility of Jinnah as Prime Minister of the first free Indian government. (So did Gandhi.)

C. R.'s fundamental approach is one of trust in the Moslems and the British. Off and on for the last two years he has been in touch with Jinnah with a view to bridging the Moslem-Hindu gulf. He secretly hopes that if the Moslems and Hindus join in a war-time government of India they will learn to know each other better and then the Moslems will abandon their project of a separate Pakistan.

Jinnah's strategy, before and today, is not difficult to understand. As long as the British deny India independence, Jinnah's uncompromising attitude toward the Congress Party and his fervent advocacy of Pakistan bring him popularity among Moslems, new members for his League, and excellent propaganda material. But the moment the British agree to a responsible Indian government Jinnah would have to join it, because intransigence would rob him of office, power to influence policy, patronage, and other advantages. By granting India a national government Britain, in other words, could unite Hindus and Moslems and win both for the war effort.

Hitherto, Pakistan has been a stumbling-block on the road to Hindu-Moslem unity. Jinnah insists on it; the British accepted it in the Cripps offer; Gandhi would not have it. Now Gandhi accepts it. Thus the way seems open

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to a Hindu-Moslem political agreement. Yet Jinnah may frustrate it. For he has thrived on his opposition to Congress and on the British government's opposition to Congress. The Congress is his target, his foil, and his reason for courting popular Moslem support. Jinnah will only bury the hatchet with Congress if he thinks that he will enjoy the countervailing benefits of participation in an Indian government. He could argue with cogency, moreover, that Gandhi's acceptance of Pakistan has no practical value unless the British grant India independence, for there could be no independent Pakistan unless all of India were independent.

An alternative possibility, Congress-Moslem League unity in the fight for independence, might not appear so alluring to Jinnah because if both pursued the same aim many Moslems would probably believe that Congress, which is the only political party in India, had the advantage of experience and tried leadership.

The key to the Indian situation remains, therefore, where it has always been, in the hands of the British government. Wavell and Churchill can heal the breach between the factions in India; they can mobilize India's millions behind the war. They can do these things by giving India what India needs and wants—a national Cabinet government. Nothing less will be regarded by Indians as a guaranty that Britain expects to quit India when Japan is defeated. Verbal promises are no longer believed in Asia.

Television Comes of Age

BY ALAN BARTH

TELEVISION entered the war an adolescent. It will emerge an adult. Like our young men who have been similarly catapulted into maturity, it may come home to a family anxious to impose upon it old habits and a planned career, which it has outgrown. Parents are slow to acknowledge their offspring have grown up.

The simple fact is that there has been compressed into the past two or three years a whole decade's normal development in electronics. This has made possible tremendous new communications achievements based on utilization of the ultra-high frequencies of the radio spectrum. The war blasted the lid off radio, shoved it up into the stratosphere, and put it to use in such mysterious forms as radar. There is every reason to believe that comparable miracles will be performed in the commercial field as soon as the veil of military secrecy can be lifted. Radio engineers agree that in the sphere of television this will mean pictures appreciably better than anything we have had.

Television has been talked about as a new art for some fifteen years. It was not brought down to a business basis, however, until five months before Pearl Harbor. In July, 1941, the Federal Communications Commission approved certain standards for the television industry and assigned a portion of the radio spectrum to it. Eight stations started operations of a limited and experimental nature. Manufacturers sold seven to eight thousand receiving instruments to the public—a high percentage of them in and around New York—at prices from $150 up. Since our entry into the war promptly ended the manufacture of new sets and consequently put a quietus on the expansion and perfection of broadcasting, these pioneers have been in possession of handsome pieces of furniture which for the past two and a half years must have seemed to partake of the nature of white elephants. NBC, CBS, General Electric, Dumont, Philco, Paramount, and Don Lee have each given them a few hours of broadcasting a week—canned stuff largely, with some live programs—but research into audience reaction reveals a low level of interest.

Once you have accepted the miracle of "video" broadcasting, you are bound to feel dissatisfaction with its quality today. The picture presented is only seven and a half by ten inches. This means that you must be very close to the screen to see it at all; and you quickly come to realize that "three's a crowd." The picture must be larger if the television set is to provide entertainment for a whole family or for friends.

It is possible, although it has not yet been done commercially, to blow the television image up to larger dimensions, say, eighteen by twenty-four inches, which is generally considered the best size for home use. But the picture will be somewhat coarse-grained, inferior in clarity and definition to sixteen-millimeter home motion-picture films. This is because telecasting is now limited to a band of six megacycles, which will permit transmission of a picture of no more than 525 lines, the standard set by the FCC before the war. Increasing the size of the picture merely spaces the lines farther apart. Pre-war conditions, while they give you a fairly clear, flickerless image, do not permit you to see the refinements of form or texture—let alone the excitement of color. High-quality color requires a very much greater number of picture elements than can be transmitted within the six-megacycle band now standard.

Because of its lack of definition, television must rely heavily upon close-ups. It can show you a figure but not much of the background. In a group the individual be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comes nearly indistinguishable. The limitation has an unhappy effect upon television's entertainment value. It hampers transmission of athletic events, particularly games like football involving many players. And it vitiates dramatic programs. Instead of showing the relationship between persons, the television director must shift his camera from one player to another. He cannot even attempt complex forms of dramatic action.

Television's inability to transmit detail is a serious drawback from the advertiser's point of view. If a dress designer wishes to use the medium for a fashion show, he will be disconsolate to discover that it cannot reveal the subtleties of cut, cloth, and color he has put into his creations. To compare it with other media, the best that television can do today with its seven-and-a-half-by-ten image is to offer the equivalent of a forty-five-to-forty-eight-line halftone cut; when the image is enlarged to eighteen by twenty-four, it is no better than a twenty-four-line halftone. Any newspaper can print halftones of sixty-five to eighty-five lines. As for color, television's current rudimentary color processes permit a picture of no more than about thirty-five lines. A slick-paper magazine is capable of reproducing color photographs of 125 lines. Under such limitations, television is in grave danger of losing both the audience response and the financial support which, in our economic system, are indispensable to its success.

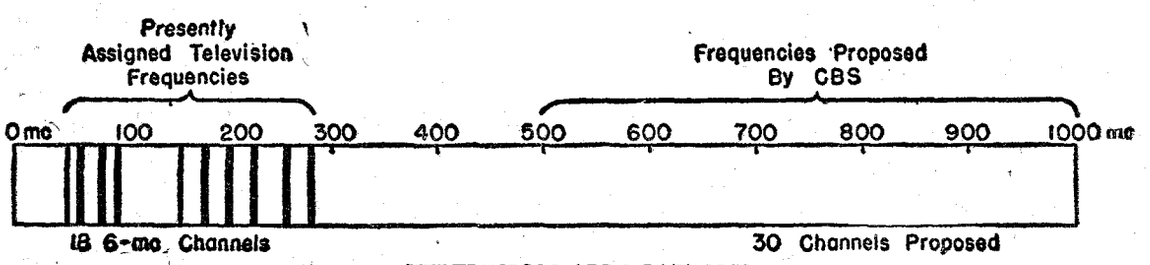
The Columbia Broadcasting System has looked this situation squarely in the face and has proposed a radical remedy. Since the narrow six-megacycle band now available to television is at the root of its difficulties, CBS urges that television be moved up into the ultra-high frequencies which the war has taught it how to use and which would place greater space at its disposal. CBS wants television to operate in bands of fourteen to sixteen megacycles. With these it could transmit pictures with twice the clarity, detail, and richness. Television now has 18 channels of 6 megacycles each, assigned to it in the spectrum between 50 and 300 megacycles. Of these only the first 5, between 50 and 90 megacycles, are now in operation or within the dial range of present receiving sets. (See chart below.) It is useless to talk of broadening television's channels in this region. The spectrum is already overcrowded. And when the war ends, greater space will undoubtedly have to be reserved for radio services to aviation and navigation. These transmissions belong, logically, in the area now occupied by television.

But the upper reaches of the spectrum are as yet untenanted. CBS proposes the allocation to television of some 30-odd channels, each 16 megacycles wide, in the space between 500 and 1,000 megacycles; in other words, not only wider bands for better pictures but also more bands for greater competition. The suitability of these ultra-high frequencies for television's needs still awaits practical demonstration and commercial adaptation. But CBS has stated its position with admirable restraint: "This much seems true—a single year of concentrated effort in a dozen engineering laboratories should *prove* the case for better television pictures or else *disprove* it. Hundreds of American engineers have done ten times as much, in two taut years of war, as remains to be done in one full year of peace."

The CBS proposal has stirred up a hot controversy in the radio trade. Two objections to it have been raised, apart from the fact that it has not yet been incontrovertibly proved feasible. One is that the entire pre-war investment in television—the transmitters of pioneer broadcasters as well as the seven thousand receiving sets in the hands of the public—would have to be scrapped. The other is that the change-over would retard production and employment in the industry in the immediate post-war period.

These objections have been voiced most volubly by Niles Trammell, president of the National Broadcasting Company, a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America. While CBS is interested exclusively in broadcasting, not in manufacturing, postponement of production would work a real hardship upon RCA, which possesses the facilities, the dies, and the know-how to turn out pre-war television transmitters and receivers as soon as the materials become available. Philco, Dumont, and Emerson, all makers of equipment, feel much the same way. Zenith and Westinghouse, though manufacturers, are squarely on the side of CBS. General Electric and Farnsworth have taken no part in the controversy. General Electric, indeed, has accepted an order to turn out the first post-war ultra-high-frequency transmitter for Columbia.

There is a real danger that the exploitation of lower-frequency television may rule out or indefinitely delay the introduction of higher-frequency television, since



TELEVISION ALLOCATIONS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is a lock-and-key relationship between transmitters and receivers. It is impractical and uneconomic to build television sets capable of receiving broadcasts both at the present level and in the upper reaches of the spectrum. If transmission should shift to the ultra-high channels, receivers of the type now in the hands of the public would be of interest only to museums. It is one thing to talk of shifting television's place in the spectrum when only a few thousand sets would be rendered obsolete by the change. It would be something quite different to talk of doing this after a few million sets had been sold. This is what Chairman James L. Fly of the Federal Communications Commission had in mind when he inveighed recently against "freezing television at the old pre-war standards."

Commissioner E. K. Jett of the FCC also opposes such freezing but favors utilization of the lower frequencies until in time the higher frequencies supplant them. He envisages a dual system of transmission during a transitional period, to service both old and new types of receiver. The television panel of the Radio Technical Planning Board, a group of outstanding government and industry radio engineers, has also advocated continuance of the FCC's pre-war standards and, at the same time, allocation of a broad space to television in the ultra-high frequencies for experimental purposes, without establishment of any standards for its present use. Two kinds of television, however, could not long be maintained: no broadcaster could long afford to service both, and the limitations of the lower frequency would impair programs for the higher. The present standards might reasonably be continued for a year or so until higher standards are proved practicable.

Four measures seem necessary to safeguard the public interest: (1) the FCC, while permitting television broadcasts at present standards, should insist upon intensive experimentation in use of the ultra-high frequencies; (2) the FCC should make clear to broadcasters and public alike that the present standards are provisional and will be reviewed when large-scale manufacture can be resumed; (3) the FCC should set aside space for television now at the top of the spectrum; (4) the broadcasters should restrain their panegyrics about the present type of television and inform the public that better television may soon be achieved.

With these precautions, the issue may well resolve itself. Just how soon the government will release its electronic secrets is anybody's guess—probably not until the Japanese have no further use for them. Nor is the War Production Board likely to allocate materials for large-scale manufacture of television equipment any earlier. Manufacturers, moreover, will have plenty to do for a while meeting the post-war demand for audio sets. Most important of all, television broadcasting on a nationwide basis cannot be created quickly.

Television is peculiarly a network job. It is enormously expensive, and those who engage in it will have to build gradually and be prepared for a long period of deficit financing. In all likelihood a decade will elapse before the hundred largest cities in the United States have television transmitters in operation and anything resembling a national network can exist. The feasibility of ultra-high-frequency telecasting should be definitely proved or disproved long before the public is ready to invest in any great number of receiving sets.

When television comes of age, we shall have a new art form.

Niles Trammell indulged in no hyperbole when he said, "It is not just a better form of product or a better way of doing a thing that has been done before. It is something totally new and unique and original." It will not displace or replace anything else. It will grow on new soil where nothing ever grew before."

In the Wind

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, of the Republican Roosevelts, is given as the source of this remark about Dewey: "Who wants to vote for a man who looks like a bridegroom on a wedding cake?"

ALTHOUGH THE OWI'S RESEARCH DIVISION was scrapped by Congress, there will still be research—of a kind. *Tide*, an advertising trade magazine, reports that private industry is financing a new bureau to carry on the work. It will operate as an adjunct of the War Advertising Council.

AMID SUCH GOINGS ON, more and more people are turning to the consolation of philosophy. Both the Modern Library and the publishers of the Everyman series report steadily increasing sales of such authors as Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, William James, Henri Bergson, Sir Thomas Browne, Spinoza, Thomas à Kempis, and Saint Augustine.

A NAVAL LIEUTENANT, born in Florida, has been relieved of his command for addressing a group of Negro sailors to whom he was lecturing as "you niggers."

THE POLICEMEN OF LONG BEACH, California, having been assured by the city attorney that it is legal for them to join a union, have organized and elected officers (A. F. of L.).

FESTUNG EUROPA: Belgian government bonds of 1936 and 1937, which were quoted at 32 per cent of face value on the London market in June, 1940, are now quoted at 98 per cent. . . . The Nazi-sponsored company union of the Michelin automobile plant in France recently held a meeting to elect twenty-six delegates. But when the votes were counted it appeared that only four delegates had been elected: Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and De Gaulle.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last of the Scapegoats

BY WALTER MEHRING

THE alleged attempt on the life of Hitler suggests that the crisis in Germany is coming to a head. Was there really a bomb or was the incident manufactured to justify another purge akin to that of June 30, 1934, when the Führer liquidated the chiefs of the S. A.? Then he made a speech justifying his action on the ground that these men were plotting against him—a speech in which he claimed, as he did again on this occasion, that "providence" had saved him "to carry on his work." In 1934 Hitler, to placate the General Staff, destroyed the Nazi radicals; today he must destroy the General Staff and attempt to pin on it responsibility for defeat. The army, in turn, seeks to transfer the blame to him. Neither will succeed, and both will go down together, for there is no other group left in Germany which can be used as a scapegoat.

In all the 123 years since it was first organized by Gneisenau, the German General Staff has never suffered such losses under any of its leaders as it has under the present ones. Before the war its ranks were thinned by executions and fatal accidents; during the war the thinning process has been continued by surrender to the enemy, by the suicidal "hero's death" in battle, and by dismissal and subsequent house arrest.

Those who survive are members of the military camarilla that chose the corporal Adolf Hitler to be the front man for its intrigues. When Herr Brüning suggested to the monarchist Hindenburg that he restore the monarchy, the "acting Kaiser" roughly refused. Why? The Prussian generals, in preparing their assault on the world, preferred to have in office a servile "orderly" who would never oppose any of their plans.

And so they set up a dummy leader, crowned like any monarch with the halo of Hegel's deified state. But alas, in order to maintain his dictatorship the orderly had to have more and more authority—and he had an insatiable appetite for victory over his enemies, first in Germany and then throughout the world. Within Germany, for every defect, every abuse, every bad condition, he found internal enemies on whom to saddle the guilt—Socialists, pacifists, Jews, Catholics, and when necessary his own companions.

Total political power carries with it total military authority, and the result can only be total victory or total defeat. And as the generals have used up most of the military reserves, Hitler has used up his political reserves —all those who might have been able to negotiate an "honorable" peace involving something less than unconditional surrender and later serve as scapegoats. He has already liquidated all the scapegoats.

Most German generals today look back with longing to the good old days of 1918, to the sham revolution they engineered, to the conveniently "disgraceful" Treaty of Versailles, to the abundance of scapegoats. It was child's play for them to get rid of the Kaiser, for all the kings of Prussia since Friedrich Wilhelm I, the "Soldier King," had been ruled by the Junker officers. After the defeat, the General Staff arranged to have Germany represented at the armistice conference by members of the civil groups it hated most—"reds," Jews, and Catholics. These, while the generals were silent, shouldered the whole burden of national humiliation.

The national thirst for revenge was slaked from time to time by the blood of the one of these unfortunate men. The Catholic Matthias Erzberger, who had signed the armistice terms, was murdered in 1921; the Jew Walther Rathenau, who had kept Germany supplied with raw materials during the war, who in 1918 had called for a mass resurgence in support of the war, who had presented Germany's side at Versailles, who by means of an understanding with the Russians had won important concessions for Germany at Genoa, was killed in 1922. The responsibility for these murders was denied by the Junker officers; but a paid spy of the "Black Reichswehr" named Adolf Hitler openly praised the murderers as heroes.

At first the Allies demanded not only reparations but the handing over of those who had instigated the war. A patriotic German scholar of world-wide reputation, the sociologist Max Weber, went to Ludendorff with the request that he give himself up for the sake of the nation. The patriot Ludendorff answered, "The nation? The nation can polish my boots."

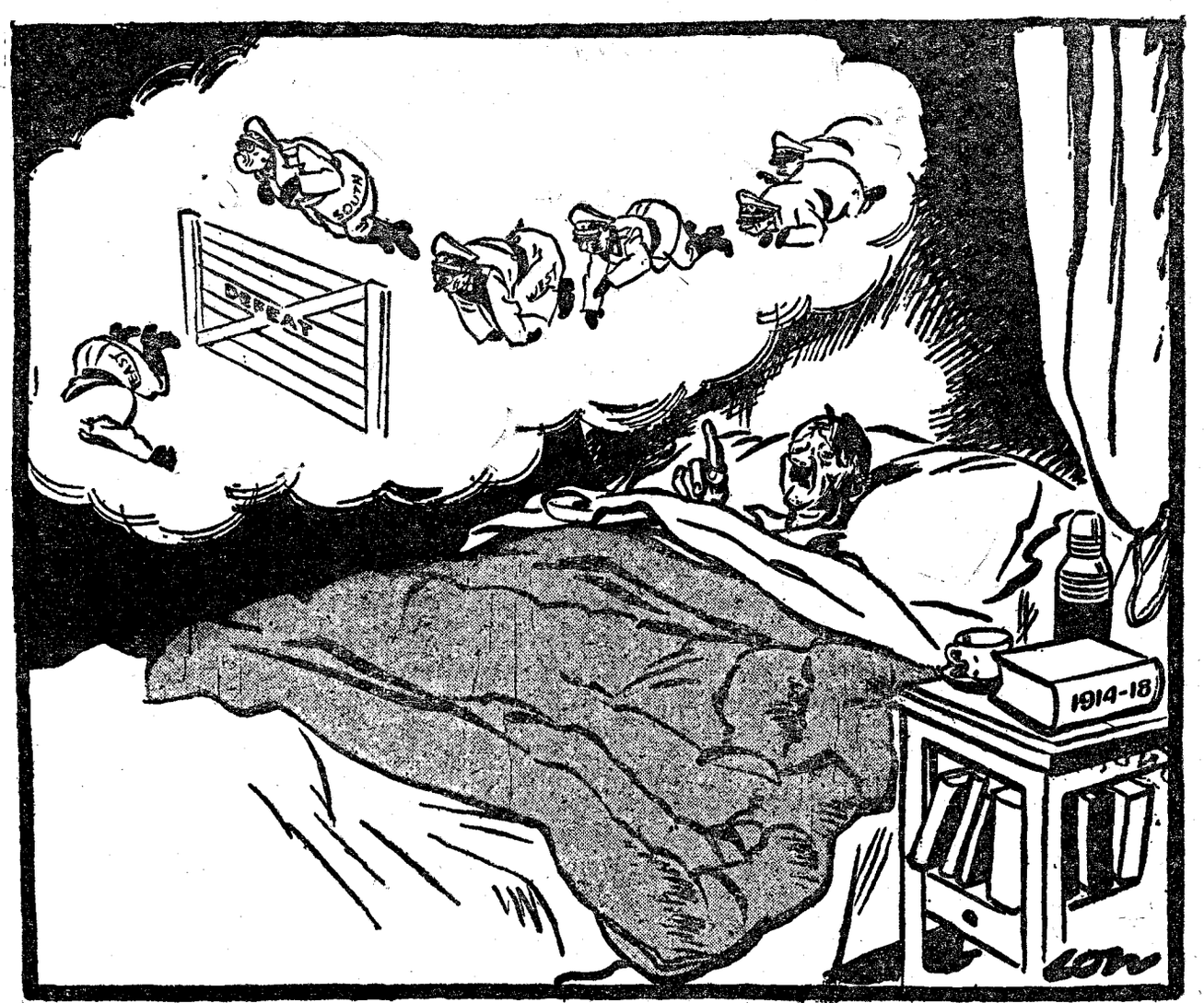
A true Prussian officer is always innocent. As early as May, 1918, Field Marshal von Hindenburg wrote to his wife at Hanover, "I shall not be to blame if the war does not end advantageously for us." And at the end of September the General Staff came out with its explanation of the situation. "The game is lost this time," Ludendorff told a meeting of the War Cabinet on September 28. "War has its ups and downs. Perhaps another time Germany will have better luck."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first two offensives against the Weimar Republic, the Kapp putsch in Berlin and the Hitler putsch in Munich, failed; General Ludendorff had been one of the instigators of both of them. For these failures, as for the defeat in the First World War, he blamed (1) the Jews, whose help in war and hospitality in peace he had received; (2) the Socialists, who had saved his life; (3) the Freemasons, and (4) the Catholic church. In a pamphlet entitled "The Gravediggers of Germany" he even accused his former comrade, Adolf Hitler, of being "a hireling of the Vatican."

The German General Staff had only one aim—to reestablish the "Prussian soldier state" at any price. To that end it allowed its representative in office, President Hindenburg, to drop the monarchist Brüning; to that end it sacrificed its comrade von Schleicher; to that end it raised to power one whom it openly despised, the corporal Hitler. (The corporal, true to the finest traditions of the Prussian officer class, saddled the guilt on others by burning the Reichstag.) The General Staff silently consented to all Hitler's subsequent excesses on the understanding that it would not participate in them; it was silent when many of its comrades who spoke out against the dictatorship were murdered. Its instrument this time was not a complaisant King of Prussia but a bohemian adventurer, a usurper, an underworld Caesar, who has implicated them in all his crimes.

The present strategy of the General Staff is dictated by the fear of death. It is fighting on four fronts: abroad, against Bolshevism on one side and democracy on the other; at home, against the dictatorship on one side and the people on the other. To which of the two external enemies shall it surrender, the Americans and the English or the Russians? If it raises the white flag, whom shall it blame? It must fight for its life against the dictatorship. Any general who mentions the word "surrender" risks his head; anyone who speaks of it even to his intimate friends runs the risk of being betrayed. The individual seeking a way out has a rather limited choice: he can let himself be captured, trusting to the magnanimity of the enemy—the Russians have taken a good crop of generals lately—or he can seek a "hero's death" in battle. The General Staff, collectively, has another choice: it can stab its accomplice, the National Socialist Party, in the back. But then, alas, it will have killed the last of the scapegoats.



SLEEPLESS NIGHTS

(Copyright in All Countries.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A SHUDDER ran through the world when it read of the threats shouted over the German radio on July 10 about what would happen if "the war spills over on to our holy German soil." "We will turn this continent," a voice said, "into a maelstrom of destruction where only one cry is heard—the cry for blood." But although there will be destruction and blood enough in the last act as there was in the first, this crazy threat has less practical significance than at first appeared. It was not exploded in a political but in a lyrical program. No minister or general, not even a political commentator, presented mankind with the ultimatum. It was a *bel esprit*, a man of letters, who gave himself up to the ecstasy of prophecy. And in literature such prophecies are an old story. Long before the Nazis had reason to despair, their poets indulged in similar wild visions. As much as two years ago a poem was quoted here which has since been included in all German schoolbooks. "The earth shall tremble to its core," it threatened, "when its noblest race falls." And it ended: "As Attila's hall crashed and burned when he conquered the Nibelungs, so shall Europe burst into flame when the Germans perish." We should not forget that German poets and artists, especially the bad poets and artists, have always had a morbid craving to wallow in ideas of death and to unroll pictures of cosmic destruction.

A not less characteristic reminder of this literature is found in the name of the fortified line which the war in Italy is now approaching. It was christened *Gothenlinie*, which should be translated, not Gothic Line, but Line of the Goths. To German ears the words are ominously symbolic. The Goths were a Germanic people who in the sixth century ruled in Italy for some eighty years. Finally they were overcome and annihilated—in a long, bitter campaign which also began with an invasion from Africa by way of Sicily. The few that survived, bearing with them the embalmed body of the last king, were driven into the Alps and probably perished there. This Germanic tragedy of death and annihilation was made the subject of a novel that several decades ago became by far the most popular ever published in Germany. Two generations of Germans, among them Marshal Kesselring, read and were fascinated by Felix Dahn's "Ein Kampf um Rom." Millions declaimed the closing poem glorifying the Goths' last march: "Gebt Raum, Ihr Völker, unserem Schritt, wir sind die letzten Gothen!" To German ears there is a sharp suggestion of disaster in the name "Line of the Goths."

The basic hopelessness of the situation has, in the words of one reporter, "become obvious to four-fifths of the Germans." The government, which wants to continue the struggle, must therefore be seeking arguments to prove that in spite of all appearances the people should keep up hope. If one examines the latest Goebbels propaganda, however, one notes that it is almost devoid of statements that would give rise to expectations of a change for the better. After the collapse of faith in the "V-1" it spoke of still more powerful future weapons. It said that if the enemy is stronger in numbers and arms, the Germans are superior in moral force and resolution. But that sort of thing is no longer impressive. Nor is the sudden discovery that the Reich still possesses immense untapped reserves which can now be thrown into the scales. The Goebbels repertoire consists in the main of references to these reserves. The current slogan is: "Now the war must be totalized." An editorial in the *Völkische Beobachter* proclaimed on July 9:

> The nation is in danger. In this situation it can no longer be tolerated that German citizens should continue a way of life that does not correspond to the demands of the times. Germany's technical superiority must be restored by a new War Totalization Campaign.

The *Svenska Dagbladet* of July 10 declared:

> Germany is now flooded with so-called defense appeals designed to elicit a fresh national effort. . . . The catastrophe at Stalingrad was the signal for the first big campaign for a so-called "totalization" of the war effort. Now a second has begun. Goebbels opened it with a speech in eastern Germany, and in coming weeks his demands on the German people will be repeated and intensified. Press and radio will shriek: "Mobilize everything that is still left of mental and material reserves! This is our last chance to win the war."

But the campaign is only the repetition of an undertaking which was feverishly overdone and overpublicized before, and the first measures taken reveal how much less can be squeezed out now. It has been decreed, for example, that the street railways shall no longer simply carry people but shall be used in part to move goods within the cities. And shops selling bread may no longer order it where they like; to save transportation they must get it from the nearest baker. Who can expect such trifles to have a decisive effect on the war?

Even less confidence is aroused by the fierce drive to press boys of the class of 1928—those between fifteen and sixteen years old—into the army as volunteers. This drive was started in all provinces at the beginning of July. In the Rhineland the overture was a proclamation by the Gauleiter. From time immemorial, that official declared, it has been the right and privilege of German youth to fight for the fatherland. "Every Hitler youth in our province is a good fellow, and every good fellow in an hour like this will be eager to share in the honor of defending his homeland." This call for fifteen-year-old boys is the clearest possible revelation that there can be no further talk of untapped reserves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

JOHN DOS PASSOS has taken another look at U. S. A., and his findings are set down in "State of the Nation" (Houghton Mifflin, $3). For the duration at least the United States is once more the land of opportunity, and "Produce!" is its slogan. The depression of a decade ago has left its mark—more than once Mr. Dos Passos was told that men were afraid of working themselves out of a job. The post-war problems which will soon be upon us crop up occasionally. But, in general, managers and men on the farms as well as in the factories are enjoying the excitement of producing to the limit of their capacities. This excitement about production for production's sake, which Mr. Dos Passos communicates because he was himself caught up in it, seems to be a more potent motivation than simple patriotism and not less important than high wages.

One of the liveliest places in the United States, by Dos Passos's account, is the Northwest, the land of Grand Coulee, where the great dam and the cheap and seemingly endless power it generates have given the American dream a new lease of life. "Public power plus private initiative, that's our story." "I get that Klondike feeling," said Dos Passos's friend. "We're on the great circle route to China and the Orient. There's no reason why there shouldn't be an immense demand for our manufactured products. . . ." But only if there's a plan, and freedom from interference from "the big boys back East."

As one reads one almost forgets that the rationale of this vast manifestation of energy, initiative, and skill, of this new surge of the frontier spirit, is the most destructive war in history. Almost but not quite, for Mr. Dos Passos is aware of it, and it haunts his book. It becomes explicit in his chapters on Washington, where everyone agrees that the New Deal, which sponsored Grand Coulee and the TVA, has run its course, where the "big boys" and their representatives are all too powerful, where frustration is an occupational hazard. "Christ, it's the tar baby. . . . You try to give it a kick and your foot gets stuck and you try to give it a punch and your fist gets stuck and you try to back off and butt it with your head and your head gets stuck." Some people feel differently of course—it all depends on the agency you work for. In spite of inefficiency, waste, and obstruction, the miracle of American war production has been accomplished—and everyone agrees that it has been free of corruption. Money corruption that is. Today it's power that talks. But to quote another witness, "everything's done with the higherups. War belongs to the higherups. . . . Our productive potential was so great we found we could do without the people."

Mr. Dos Passos has done primarily a reporting job—and it is good reading in spite of those funny words of his and the slight monotony of his sensory style after its first freshness wears off. His own conclusions are contained in a brief Letter to a Friend in the Theaters which prefaces the book. It is mainly a statement of faith—a rather tired and negative faith which does not include specifications. Since we've held on to our liberties this long—and "what holds us together as a nation is our system of liberties"—we may continue to hold on to them, though admittedly "we haven't the leadership, the education, the theoretical background, or the political formula we need" to meet the test that will come with the end of the war.

It is easy enough to say that the formula we need is implicit in the "socialist planning"—public ownership plus private initiative of the creative not the predatory brand—which has been so successful in human as well as economic terms at Grand Coulee and TVA. That way, certainly, lies the possibility of a peace-time rationale which would allow for full production—of medical care as well as automobiles—and give scope to "that Klondike feeling." But only a romantic would condescend to Mr. Dos Passos's feeling that the odds are against it except as a long-term, "back-door" prospect. Private monopoly can still do, and do a great deal, without the people. The people are only on the edge of discovering that they can do without private monopoly.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Too Bad to Be True

VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH. By Douglas Miller. With a Foreword by William L. Shirer. Didier. $3.

DOUGLAS MILLER, for fifteen years our commercial attaché in Berlin and author of the best-seller "You Can't Do Business with Hitler," which was published six months before Hitler's declaration of war against the United States, has assembled in this volume a number of his frequent reports to the State Department during the fateful years from 1931 to 1937. In spite of Shirer's effective foreword and the author's convincing preface—"ideas and impressions set down at the time are a better record than second guesses made long after the event"—I was afraid of finding nothing new in these reports. By their nature they were bound to have not only the advantages but also the disadvantages of an eyewitness account. But having once started to read the volume I was unable to put it down.

To read Mr. Miller's factual observations today is to learn about much more than the sad auspices under which American trade with Germany was carried on after Hitler became Chancellor, or the role of business in a totalitarian state of whatever color. The special value of these reports almost a decade after they were written consists in the accurate inside story they tell of Hitler's methods of establishing his power over the German people and the minds and properties of many foreigners both inside and outside Germany. Mr. Miller is not one of those professional ideologists who always want the common people to make sacrifices for their lofty conceptions while they themselves prefer the permanent position of commentators with quickly shifting views.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He writes as a shrewd and trained observer of business conditions. From day to day he records the measures which the Nazi leaders took to establish and perpetuate their power, part of which they had received as a present from above against the will of the majority of the German people. His reports, though written with a different purpose in mind, show the mechanics of the camouflaged trap in which the German people were caught. They are to be recommended especially to those who showed little interest in what happened in Germany during the thirties but who have today strong opinions about how the German people should have behaved at the time—opinions based on a complete underestimation of the physical and psychological terror the modern state can wield.

Mr. Miller makes in his reports many prophecies which were ignored at the time but have all come true. In his preface he states that he underestimated the Nazi capacity for evil. He says, "Hitler seemed too bad to be true." No honest man can say today that he did not hold the same mistaken view at least for a time. The German people as a whole had that opinion until it was too late; the other European peoples continued to hold it for years, and so did the American people. It is good to be reminded of this fundamental fact in these days of Hitler's imminent fall, when the threat looms that the coming peace may be based on an emotional misconception of the German people—a misconception which is in many ways related to the earlier underestimation of Hitler, and would prove equally disastrous.

FRANZ HOELLERING

The Liberal Party

ANNOUNCES A

DINNER-FORUM

ON

Liberals and Labor in Postwar America

SPEAKERS

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

LEON HENDERSON • DAVID DUBINSKY

DR. JOHN L. CHILDS

CHAIRMAN

DR. GEORGE S. COUNTS

Wednesday, August Second • Seven O'Clock

GRAND BALLROOM HOTEL COMMODORE

Lexington Avenue and Forty-second Street

INFORMAL • TICKETS $4.00 PER PERSON

Send Reservations and Check to:

MR. HARRY UVILLER, Treasurer

THE LIBERAL PARTY

160 West 44th Street, New York 18 • Tel. LOngacre 5-0500

History, Psychology, and Culture

THE CONDITION OF MAN. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

IT IS an old saw that every age has to rewrite history. And the history written today, to be convincing, must bear the imprint of current values and include points of view drawn from other disciplines.

All the significant attempts of our time to recapitulate and evaluate the past employ the culture concept: they view history, that is, as a series of cultures and recognize that the manifestations of a given epoch are not discrete and disconnected but integrally related. All of them make more or less use of the new methodological tools which have been developed since the turn of the century. These have been drawn largely from biology, especially the theory of evolution; from social theory, especially Marxism; from anthropology, which invented the culture concept and taught Western man that there are successful patterns of living other than his own; and last but not least from modern psychodynamics, which has completely revised our conception of personality and character and their social relevancy.

Spengler, Pareto, and Toynbee, to mention only a few modern scholars, have used the culture concept and, in varying degree, the new methodological tools. Where they differ is in the selection of data, the interpretation of the correlations established, and the theoretical basis of these correlations. None has escaped the temptation to become a pleader for some special cause or, more crassly, to make history an instrument of propaganda—though this is much less true of Toynbee than of the others. All of them, working without benefit of psychodynamics, have taken wide privileges with the data. Spengler harnessed the culture concept to a vitalistic view of nations and saw in the rise and fall of cultures a replica of the life cycle of the individual; and his book became the basis for a "devil take the hindmost" conception of human relations. Pareto's extravagances are of another kind, which need not be discussed. He did see a significant relation between "residues" and "derivations." But this important correlation is lost through the failure to develop a technique for handling it, and mountains of obscurantist blather are the result.

Mr. Mumford's book belongs in the category of significant attempts to examine the history of Western society. He has had much experience in evaluating the role of technics in civilization and the culture of cities. He is skilled in demonstrating the links between the various phenomena of a given movement or epoch, but he is not convincing in describing transitions and cultural changes because he has no frame of reference, no operating principles, not even a plan. He does have strong emotional attitudes; and in place of empirically verifiable deductions we have a long series of very personal appraisals and value judgments. At the end of the book he is quite winded, with little to offer in the way of constructive suggestions except a few feeble exhortations for a change in "values," for stronger personality formation, and the like. He knows that psychodynamics has a contribution to make to the understanding of the cultural process, but all we find of this discipline is the uncritical use of a few psychoanalytic shibboleths.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The work really begins with the discussion of Christianity. And here the author's lack of a method shows itself most clearly. There is no definition of the role of fantasy and religion in human adaptation and no effort to track down the sources of religious ideology. There is no definition of the effective ideas in Christianity, and the author makes no systematic effort to reconcile these ideas with the life situations then prevailing. The result is a purely literary account of Christianity. We are not told why the doctrine originated or why it "took"—presumably, according to Mumford, it caught on because it had intrinsically beautiful or moral ideas.

Having missed many of the essentials concerning the origin of Christianity, Mr. Mumford fares no better with the church. We are told that somehow suffering was stressed by the church. This was a kind of doctrinal error, according to Mumford, since Christianity was strong and beautiful. Or this emphasis on suffering was due to the fact that "those who had no health in them" indorsed this aspect of the new religion. It is no more enlightening to be told that Christianity "gave to suffering a noble role in life." This exaltation of the role of suffering was no arbitrary fiat of the church, no incidental epiphenomenon; it was intimately related to the renunciation of pleasure pursuits. In terms of psychodynamics the equation can be stated thus: "You suffer because you have sinned, but you can be reinstated in the good graces of God if you renounce all pleasure pursuits. This causes more suffering, but by this suffering you can move God to reinstate you." These ideas were all contained in the basic disciplines of the ancient Hebrews and have ever been a daily experience to the growing child. But Mr. Mumford does not tell us why the church was inimical to the pleasure drives; much later he does speak of the upsurges of the "libido," which have a way of recurring again and again.

Mr. Mumford's treatment of Christianity and the church is typical. He makes significant correlations but also omits pertinent data. Christian doctrine, its emergence from Judaism, the new values it legitimized, the reason for its widespread appeal, its internal structure—these are all consistent and simple. But neither this development nor any of the succeeding and more complicated cultural changes can be explained without a more systematic knowledge of the human being, the creature and creator of culture. Value judgments, in lieu of this knowledge, are confusing.

In his appraisal of the medieval synthesis Mr. Mumford recognizes that a serious incompatibility was created by the fact that "one aspect of the conceptual world remained fixed, whereas the expanding practical world challenged the integrity of the old synthesis, which could no longer provide a rational basis for action." Had he expanded this thesis, he would have been on safe ground. But Mumford has to bring in the motif of "love breaking its bounds." We are told that "the people of the Middle Ages overcame the tendency toward metaphysical dualism even in sexual relations, and their practice was more ideal than their idealization." To the reviewer this sounds like pretentious nonsense. We gather that he owes this conclusion to an uncritical indorsement of a psychoanalytic survey of medieval society which concludes that "parents were able to live their lives on a genital level." (The reader is not told the implications of

JUST PUBLISHED

An uncensored report on the Fascist invasion of the Americas

THE ONLY BOOK TO TELL THE WHOLE FANTASTIC STORY OF THE SINISTER HAPPENINGS IN THE ARGENTINE

Argentine Diary

By RAY JOSEPHS
Buenos Aires Correspondent for PM, VARIETY and THE CHICAGO SUN

WALTER WINCHELL: "It's a corker!"

CHICAGO SUN: "A highly provocative report on the mess in Argentina . . . It is one hell of a powerful book, and history will prove that Josephs was right. It will also prove that this is one of the most important books written by an American since Pearl Harbor."—ALLAN CHASE, author of *Falange*.

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW: "The piled-up and packed down record of the Ramirez regime . . . by an astute reporter who knows his Argentina. By all odds the most significant document to come out of that beset land."

404 PAGES, INDEXED. $3.00

The voice of liberated Italy passes judgment on its oppressors

GERMANY & EUROPE

A Spiritual Dissension By BENEDETTO CROCE
Translated and with an Introduction by VINCENT SHEEAN

One of the greatest thinkers of modern times speaks his mind, without malice or prejudice, on the most controversial topic in the world today—the causes of the barriers that throughout history have separated Germany from the rest of Europe.

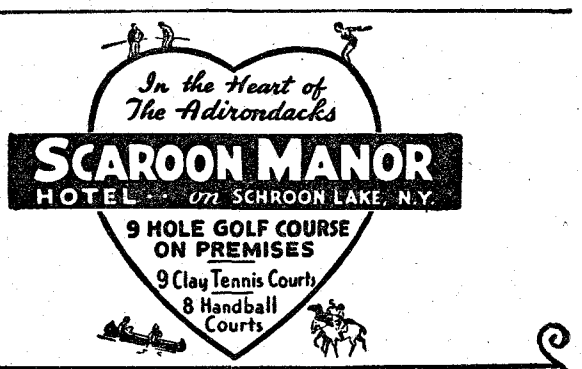
VINCENT SHEEAN: "This book is small but not slight; there are mighty things in it." $1.25

RANDOM HOUSE, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this statement—that it is an evaluation of culture by the criteria of Freud's libido theory; and that "genital" represents the most advanced stage of the growth process.) This uncritical indorsement gets the author into serious inconsistencies. He tells us that "Aquinas chose authority for purely pragmatic reasons; it simplified his task and guaranteed his orthodoxy"—that is, his security. He does not see that this attitude of submission to authority is incompatible with the idea of "genitality." Yet it is in the medieval epoch that Mr. Mumford sees the greatest synthesis, and he seems rather nostalgic about it.

In the breakdown of the medieval synthesis after the Black Death Mumford finds the church lined up with capitalism, and he considers Protestantism a fight against capitalists. Mr. Mumford's position here is unique, and it is one which he would never have taken but for the fateful analogy of the church as a bank in which virtue credits were stored and drawn upon.



COMMON SENSE

August Issue

OUR LAST CHANCE IN CHINA

By Pearl S. Buck

A bold and searching presentation of a situation we must face if we are to avoid a THIRD WORLD WAR!

GANDHI-WAVELL Correspondence

Spring, 1944

Letters between Gandhi and his jailer (full text). Hitherto unpublished in this country. Introduction by Louis Fischer.

Also articles by H. N. Brailsford, Fritz Sternberg, Maurice Goldbloom, Louis Fischer. Departments by Milton Mayer and Stuart Chase. Book Reviews and editorial departments.

Common Sense
10 East 49th St., New York 17

For the enclosed $1 send six monthly issues of Common Sense beginning with the August issue.

Name .....
Street .....
City..... Zone.... State.....

INTRODUCTORY SIX MONTH OFFER $1

N-8

Most of Mr. Mumford's difficulties arise from the fact that he has no working conception of the human personality. He does not think systematically about the two orders of mental phenomena—those found in religious systems and those in empirically derived rational systems; the two have different origins and functions in the personality and produce different social phenomena. He can formulate no accurate picture of how the personality is affected by basic cultural factors or of how man organizes his mental resources in the face of cultural change.

When he comes to our time, Mr. Mumford can do no more than bemoan the fact that the machine has conquered man instead of the reverse. Darwin, he tells us, merely "read back into nature the current struggle for economic success." He "sanctified the brutality of industrialism and gave fresh impulse to the imperialism that succeeded it." The final disintegration came with fascism.

What to do about all this? Mr. Mumford's recommendation that we change our *values* and organize our personalities to a better balance does not move us. How are we to do this? For the values he wants changed are the products of the entire life pattern and not the reverse. He merely offers us an invitation to lift ourselves by our psychological bootstraps.

And so Mr. Mumford's attempt remains a highly personal one, filled with inconsistencies and devoid of usable directives. But it is an earnest effort and instructive within its limits. It is disappointing only because it appears at a time when we demand of a study of culture that it increase our understanding of the present. For this end Mr. Mumford's technique is antiquated because it relies on authoritative pronouncements and not on empirically verifiable demonstration. Empiricism in the social sciences is the only protection society has against the vagaries of personal bias. But perhaps Mr. Mumford is not one of those who believe that the study of culture can be reduced to a science.

ABRAM KARDINER

Severn's Posthumous Life

AGAINST OBLIVION: THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SEVERN. By Sheila Birkenhead. The Macmillan Company. $3.

JOSEPH SEVERN established his claim to the interest of posterity when he went aboard the bark Maria Crowther in September of 1820, as a traveling companion and devoted attendant to John Keats, who died in Rome in February of '21. Severn survived him fifty-eight years, staying on in Italy till 1841, returning to England for another twenty years, and thereafter serving the British government as consul in Rome, where he retired in 1872 and died in 1879. Our homage to his memory has not been concerned with his, so to speak, posthumous life, those last fifty-eight years; given an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with it, we should be ungracious to refuse.

This opportunity is vouchsafed us in the present biography by Sheila Birkenhead, entitled after a phrase in Shelley's preface to "Adonais": "May the unextinguished Spirit of his illustrious friend animate the creations of his pencil and plead against oblivion for his name!" The gods may not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have loved Severn, but for his goodness to Keats they rewarded him with a long life and a decently happy one. He enjoyed, in his youth, the patronage of the nobility; married a devoted and charming wife; was blessed with half a dozen children, who enjoyed music and each other's company, and inherited enough of Severn's talent so that one of them, his daughter Maria, was able to take up the economic slack when Severn's own work had ceased to be the vogue. He was fortunate, when commissions for his painting were no longer in demand, in securing a consular appointment in the Italy he loved, and he discharged the duties of his difficult position with dignity and charm. Beyond his modest talent for painting he had a great gift of courtesy. All the great and the near-great were his visitors: he knew Ruskin, Gladstone, Landseer, Liszt. He was no fool: he knew how much he was indebted to the unextinguished Spirit of his illustrious friend, not only for the outward visible show, but the inward spiritual grace. He occupied his years of retirement with the creative work of painting.

Lady Birkenhead writes of her grandfather-in-law in detail, and with affection. Her chapter on Lady Westmoreland testifies that she has a lively sense of character. She quotes liberally from the letters of Severn and from those of his daughter Maria, both of whom were better writers than Lady Birkenhead, who cultivates a literary medium in which clichés tend to teem. Her method, fictionized biography, or biographical fiction, whatever it is called, putting speeches directly in the mouth of the characters, telling how they felt, what they were looking at, and so on, is a little irritating to begin with, especially before the Maria Crowther voyage; after that, either one begins to take it for granted and not be bothered or her manner sobers and improves. Lady Birkenhead does not say what ever became of all Joseph Severn's pictures.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Smaller Wars

WINTER QUARTERS. By Pamela Hansford Johnson. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book has got off to a bad start. Even its publishers seem none too convinced of its worth. The tasteless dust jacket suggests a war-time suburban romance, with the emphasis on romance rather than on literature. But "Winter Quarters" is anything but romantic. The best that has been said of it in the reviews that I have read is that it is "neatly written." Another reviewer (a woman) says it "represents a victory for ancient tradition"—the tradition that "women have no conception of how men behave when they are being manly together."

I'm not sure exactly what "being manly" means; but as a man I maintain that Mrs. Johnson has not only attempted a task which most women novelists would fight shy of, but that she has succeeded remarkably well just where one would expect a woman writer to fail: she has portrayed the relationships between a group of Englishmen who never, under any circumstances but that of war, could have found themselves under the same roof. At the same time she points out how war reveals the importance of and the need for just such relationships.

In the AUGUST ISSUE *of*

THE PROTESTANT

Edited by KENNETH LESLIE

PATTERN FOR PROGRESS: TEHERAN
THE EDITOR

•

IT HAD TO COME THIS WAY!
By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

HICKEY OVER CAMBRIDGE
The Story of a Town Dominated by the Christian Front
By BEN RICHARDSON

DE GAULLE AND BIG BUSINESS
By TABITHA PETRAN

Fifteen Articles on Cultural, Political, Economic and Religious Topics—Book Reviews

•

Subscribe to THE PROTESTANT

The Magazine — which recognizes the truth as its only censor

THE PROTESTANT
521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

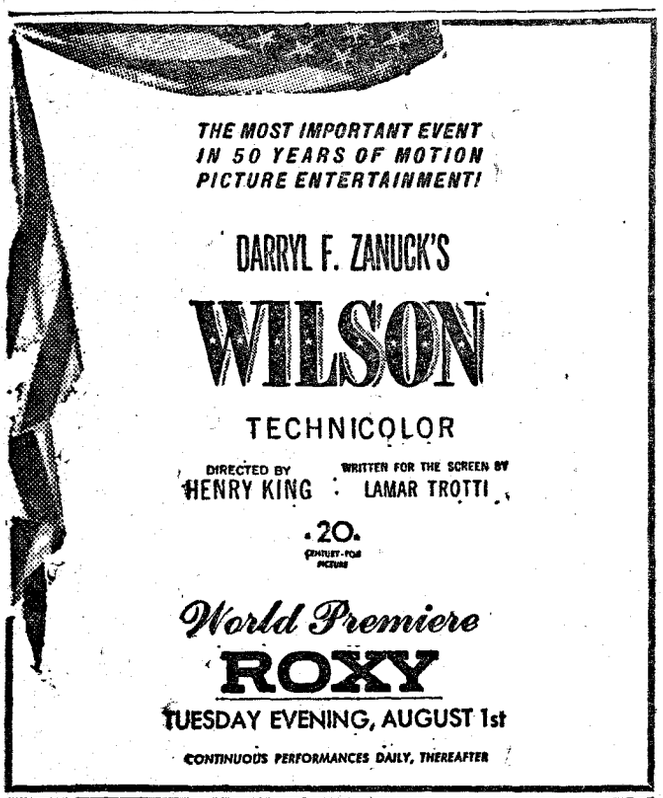
Enclosed is $3.00. Please send me the next 12 issues of THE PROTESTANT.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURE



STAGE PLAYS

THE THEATRE GUILD presents (in association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL – S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN—ANNABELLA—OSCAR KARLWEIS
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
MARTIN BECK THEATRE — West 45th — AIR CONDITIONED
Evenings at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
AIR CONDITIONED

✚ RED CROSS plasma is saving the lives of hundreds of wounded soldiers and sailors. But thousands of additional blood donors are needed. Give a pint of blood to save a life.

In time the novel lasts less than a week—one of the many weeks in which the Russians, defending Stalingrad, scream for a second front. With little to do but listen to these screams on the radio, a British artillery battery awaits orders in a village somewhere in England. From this village Mrs. Johnson has chosen so many civilians, from the battery so many officers and men, that for identification she has had to resort to a list of characters. This list is vital for the first fifty or sixty pages; from there on the names acquire faces, the faces voices, and the voices characters, some two dozen of whom have lost the identity of their civilian dress to the common khaki. From the boredom of waiting, most of them take refuge in the Golden Fleece, a local pub. Here life is seen in miniature. The Second World War is but an invisible background to the smaller but equally sordid wars that are waged wherever men and women are closeted together against their wills, to lead lives that are against their natures.

The Fleece is run by Sam Eagles and his attractive, ambivalent wife, Gillie, around whom the whole novel revolves, and to whom both officers and men, from mental inactivity and sexual loneliness, find themselves irresistibly drawn. It is on account of Gillie that one lieutenant assaults another, is threatened with court martial, and attempts suicide. It is through her that one hears what the men think of their officers, that one sees both as they really are, stripped of all pretensions. And it is she who offers the soldiers—some as remote from one another as foreigners separated by language—a common ground on which to bridge the ancient, deep-hewn gulfs of class and rank. Time and again the offer is accepted, but eventually each effort is doomed to failure. Rank, indeed, is shown by Mrs. Johnson as playing in war time just that part played by class in time of peace. As one officer says to himself of a gunner, "In civvy street we'd be friends. . . . Down here I can't have a drink with him without a Sir standing between us like a sword in the bed." As the wife of an officer, Mrs. Johnson might be expected to reveal her husband's world from an officer's point of view; but it is rare to find anyone, least of all a woman, writing objectively of all ranks of a regiment and making of each a recognizable human being.

What Mrs. Johnson seems to find most difficult is what most novelists find too easy: she has supplied none of her male characters with quite enough of the Old Adam. As a result, some hover on the brink of gentility, while others, who do show occasional glimpses of passionate feelings, even credible baseness and brutality, are hastily whipped back into behaving like the proverbial but not too credible English gentleman. It is highly commendable—and extremely difficult—to make men known by their virtues; but a large number of virtuous people in one English village does not sound like life—least of all army life.

JAMES STERN

In Early Issues of *The Nation*
"Speaking of Jane Austen"
By Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern
Reviewed by Louis Kronenberger
"Germany and Europe," by Benedetto Croce
Reviewed by Franz Hoellering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

DAVID O. SELZNICK'S "Since You Went Away" is a movie about an American home in war time. It is clear that Mr. Selznick thinks of it as *the* American home and that the Hiltons, who live in it, are supposed to be *the* American family. I even suspect that Selznick, who is nothing if not ambitious, hoped to make a contemporary native equivalent to the home-front sections of "War and Peace." What he has managed, instead, is an immense improvement on a *Ladies' Home Journal* story so sticky I couldn't get through it, which has, as he finishes it, something of the charm of an updated and cellophaned "Little Women." "Since You Went Away" is not a good film, by any standards I care for, and I would not dare to recommend it to anyone who cares exclusively for good films. But I enjoyed it a good deal, even when I was most dissatisfied with it, and I was very much interested by it.

I always enjoy and am interested in Mr. Selznick's particular blend of serious talent with smart, safe showmanship; I am the more interested—if not more joyful—now that I suspect that his style will dominate Hollywood for the next ten years or so. What I might best do here is discuss this lively but aesthetically self-defeating, peculiar yet imitable style, which gives all but identical tone and character to such disparate films as "King Kong," "David Copperfield," "Gone with the Wind," and this new, relatively realistic film. But I am still more interested in its perfect if often fortuitous appropriateness to the subject of "Since You Went Away."

Somebody, some day, must do a "Tobacco Road" about the Hiltons, their habits and their home; they need it perhaps more than any other Americans. But until that or a still better day comes, I shall have as much respect as disrespect for Mr. Selznick's conception of them. He is not what I would call perceptive, for he is obviously, and I think disarmingly, in love with his subject. Since his subject is also in love with itself, this creative attitude has its points. So far as conscious intention and perception last, it means a fidelity to detail—of properties, costumes, voices, gestures—which the most detached of artists could not hope to improve on. When consciousness blurs into love, it means a fidelity to dream, easy enough to scorn unless you realize that the Hiltons and their kind live as much in a dream of themselves as in anything one would venture to call "reality."

Without irony, then, I accept as creatures partaking of the inevitability and superior realism of a dream Neil Hamilton as the all-American husband, Claudette Colbert as his all-American wife, Jennifer Jones as the all-American seventeen-year-old, "the new Shirley Temple"—strapped in like a child prodigy with broken ribs—as her thirteen-year-old sister, Hattie McDaniel as the ultimate colored cook, and so forth and so on, taking care not to omit the best piece of casting of all: Joseph Cotten as the forever rejected bachelor suitor who, clouding the screen with discreetly alarming threats of adulterous desire, forever comes back to Miss Colbert for more. It is thus too, in their wonderful blend of acute authenticity with authentic self-delusion, that I accept most of the things the Hiltons and their friends do, not to mention Mr. Selznick's masterpiece, the Hilton home—one of those pitiful suburban brick things which is indeed *the* American home if you agree with me that seven out of ten Americans would sell their souls for it.

It is hard to separate the conscious Hiltoniana from the semi-conscious and the unconscious. The handwritings of Mr. and Mrs. Hilton—as candid, efficient, soulless, and definitely proper to their class and country as the very best waterclosets—seem a typical and laudable piece of Selznick vigilance. The Hilton furniture, quite as properly, looks as little used and unlovable as it is, presumably, much used and loved, for such homes are incurably virginal; but I wonder whether Mr. Selznick intended this. Now and then, in the effort fully to cover the home front, Selznick does the sort of pelvis-cracking split you can only get away with in a dream—or in life so actual you can hardly make fiction of it. The Hilton cook, satisfying all that anyone could possibly desire of a Negro in these restive times, not only keeps strict union hours on the job she takes when Mrs. Hilton can no longer afford her; when she is done she hustles back to the Hiltons to get in her day's measure of malapropisms, comic relief, mother wit, and free labor. I also wonder how many Mrs. Hiltons really become welders.

Mr. Selznick's attitude toward the Hiltons deprives him—like them—of any very clear psychological understanding, beyond fairly rudimentary and gracefully glossed-over stuff; yet now and then this innocence achieves remarkable things on its own. Mrs. Hilton's "Don't ever grow up," a request tenderly made of the bachelor who has spent his best years enslaved to her, is worthy of "Sentimental Education"; but I have no feeling that it was recognized as piercing and sinister, or that any irony or pity was intended when, with equal authenticity, Nazimova identified Miss Colbert with the America which she, an old, poor, working-class immigrant, had always dreamed of. I thought it just as brilliantly correct, and as clear of conscious malice, that both Hilton children were girls.

Since it seems possible that wives and children in England, and in Russia, and in China, and even, conceivably, in Germany and in Japan, are missing their men and cherishing their homes very much as we are, I don't like to see these phenomena presented as the peculiar glory of one particular country and its one true cause and justification and aim of war. But that, like much of "Since You Went Away," is a law of dream life for which, I am afraid, neither Mr. Selznick nor anyone else can be blamed, and is so broad and deep that one's sense of reality can, at best, only hope to stay afloat in it.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

THE book to read on modern music is Constant Lambert's "Music Ho!" It is the only one in which we will find any relation to our experience—in which, that is, the music that is discussed will be recognizable as the music we have heard. And after Rosenfeld, Copland, and the others, Lambert's book will come as an enormous relief—the relief of knowing, after we had been all but persuaded otherwise, that two and two do make four, the sun does rise in the east, and modern music is as sterile and warped and stunted and horrid as it seems. Lambert describes the impasse at which music arrived, the ways in which composers attempted to escape it, the reasons why they failed; and while his entire train of thought cannot be recapitulated here I should like to give some of his individual observations.

We must bear in mind, he says, that the revolutionary music of our century was written before the last war, and that after the war there was a turning back not just to simplicity but to simplicities of the past, and to simplicities in different styles which were mingled in pastiche. "In music . . . melody, rhythm, harmony, and counterpoint . . . can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

What you really want is Everything

—and "everything" that makes a dream vacation at Chesters' includes: FAST CLAY TENNIS COURTS • LARGE FILTERED POOL • PRIVATE LAKE • and many exciting etcetera's . . . Swell adult fun. Open-hearth Fires. Music Treasures. Dancing Instruction. Arts and Crafts. Entertainment Staff that really ENTERTAINS! . . . Food? Mmmmmmmm.

Accommodations from regular to DeLuxe. Attractive rates throughout the Summer. Easy to reach by train, bus, or door-to-door taxi service.

WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

CHESTERS LUNDARD

A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

★ STAR LAKE CAMP ★

In the Glorious Adirondacks

Between Thousand Islands and Ausable Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground, 1,800 feet elevation and right on the lake with plenty of gorgeous woodlands. Bungalows and lodges with hot and cold running water and modern conveniences. Tennis Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball, Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses, Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Delicious wholesome meals. Dietary Laws. Rates: $35.00 a week and $37.50 per person for couples.

Send for Booklet — New York Office

320 BROADWAY Room 1301 CO 7-2667

Sundays, Evenings, Holidays — PR 4-1390

45 Miles from New York City

Zindorest ★ Park Monroe N. Y.

Telephone 4421

A Resort for Adults Only

Exclusive location, 150 acres of unusual beauty. ALL SPORTS. Recorded concert music and many other activities for your pleasure. Last word in accommodations and hospitality.

DIXIE TERMINAL BUSES STOP AT OUR ENTRANCE ★

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. Phone 820

Summer beckons again to the most wonderful little resort for your vacation or for a week-end. Ultra modern accommodations. All outdoor activities; our own 1½ mile long lake. Varied indoor recreations. Informal, congenial surroundings. Famous cuisine. Only 50 miles from city via excellent transportation facilities. Moderate rates.

BREEZEMONT PARK ARMONK, N.Y.

35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY

"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"

The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.

OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 955

SHADYBROOK

MAHOPAC, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 963

50 miles from N. Y. C. 140 acres rustic country, secluded, restful, homelike. Unexcelled American cuisine. Tennis, handball, etc.; golf, swimming, riding. Free MOVIES.

JULY and AUGUST — $40 Weekly; $7 per day

Write for Booklet N POPPER & SIMON

be so dissected from each other, that a composer with no sense of style and no creative urge can take medieval words, set them in the style of Bellini, add twentieth-century harmony, develop them in the sequential and formal manner of the eighteenth century, and finally score the whole thing for jazz band." And, just as the post-war room had Negro masks on Adam mantelpieces, and Victorian wool-pictures hanging next to Cubists; and just as Diaghilev's post-war ballets showed the same "amusing" scrambling of periods and styles in decor, music, and choreography; so Stravinsky, who before the war had written the score of "Sacre du printemps," after the war not only wrote music "like Bach" and "like Handel" but gave Diaghilev a score for "Pulcinella" that introduced jazz glissandos into the music of Pergolesi.

Stravinsky's series of reactions from one style to another Lambert attributes to his lack of any gift for melody; and he points to Tchaikovsky as illustration of his contention that for a great melodist there is no possibility of complete and arbitrary change of style, and indeed no problem of style at all, since his "melody is a living thing, a part of himself," and "carries with it the implications of its harmonic, rhythmic, and contrapuntal treatment." For his neo-classical music Stravinsky attempts to create melody synthetically—which cannot be done. He uses the sequences and cadences of classical melodies which "are the facade, not the whole building. . . . The turns of phrase that occur at the end of a melody with much the same conventional beauty and constructional logic as a Corinthian capitol occurring at the top of a column are taken by Stravinsky, isolated from their surroundings, and plastered over the facade with a complete disregard of their true function." Then there are the figures which, in an eighteenth-century Allegro, are merely the harmonies broken up and spaced out into texture: "to use them as Stravinsky does (in his Piano Concerto) as melodic material over a totally different harmonic base is a complete misunderstanding of their value and function." And "to the melodic formulas drawn from Bach . . . are added, in later works, fragments from Beethoven, Bellini, Chopin, Tchaikovsky, and even Johann Strauss—who enters with ludicrous effect into Jocasta's air at the beginning of the second act of 'Oedipus Rex'—while to synthetic calm succeeds synthetic drama, and to synthetic austerity synthetic charm."

Stravinsky, with his absorption in purely sonorous schemes, is one of the people Lambert must have in mind who, he says, consider the greatest music "an abstract succession of tastefully arranged notes" and find such abstraction in the classicism of Mozart and other eighteenth-century music. The examples of it that Mozart provides, says Lambert, are not "romantic and subjective masterpieces like [the] G minor Quintet and G. minor Symphony," but "the many divertimenti that he cynically turned out in order to pay for the rent and a little champagne. . . . The only classical music that is abstract is bad classical music."

He deals as effectively with Hindemith, who, as the advocate of *Gebrauchsmusik* or utility music written not for the composer's satisfaction but for the consumer's demand, sets up, in opposition to art for art's sake, the doctrine of craft for craft's sake. A man without what it takes to write literature can write advertising copy; there can, then, be utility writing. But "music is only useful if it is good music, whether light or serious"—if, that is, "it provides one with some vital experience." Furthermore, "Hindemith appears to imagine that by ceasing to write for his own satisfaction he is necessarily writing for the satisfaction of others"; but "if a composer is not interested in his own music he can hardly expect others to be." And "by resolutely turning his back on 'art' Hindemith has lessened our interest even in his craft." For we are interested in counterpoint when it is expressive, not when it is purely arbitrary; nor are we interested in form that is an equally arbitrary formalism. "A musical idea of any vitality determines . . . its own formal treatment. . . . But a composer like Hindemith appears, on his own admission, to have nothing personal to say. . . . His musical ideas are consequently lacking in generative power"; but "to give them an air of logic he casts them into some pre-established and externally imposed form."

Lambert's book includes a modest portion of nonsense—mostly about Sibelius. But we must remember that it was written at a time when Sibelius was causing even good critics to lose their heads in an astounding way. And we can understand now how after a diet of Stravinsky neo-classicism and Hindemith *Gebrauchsmusik* something as fluent and colorful and agreeable to the ear and moderately enjoyable to the mind as Sibelius might go to their heads.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

The Time Is Ripe

Dear Sirs: Have just finished reading Sergeant William J. Caldwell's letter in *The Nation* of July 8 to Mrs. Clairvoyant Luce. It was nicely expressed, and I congratulate you for printing it.

It appears the time is rotten ripe for the discontinuance of exploitation of war dead by venal politicians, regardless of party affiliations. For years these same politicians shed crocodile tears for widows and children, but that has become threadbare. If Sergeant Caldwell is a Republican, obviously he belongs to the more human type, who regrettably sank into oblivion years ago, giving place to the now dastardly type of individual who is punch proud to call himself or herself a Republican or conservative.

The Nation has been coming to my home for fourteen years, and has given great pleasure and education. I am not a yearly subscriber mainly because when I started to read *The Nation* my order was placed through the American news agency and delivered to the nearest news shop.

I did intend mailing you a check after reading the first few copies, then discovered others were becoming interested, reading my copy before I picked it up.

Time passed. I changed news shops hoping the same thing would happen. It did. I notice now other news shops carry *The Nation*. P. D. ROBINSON

Hamilton, Ont., July 16

Frozen

Dear Sirs: Ever since the United States entered the war, the newspapers and army and navy officials have been clamoring for a labor draft. A few days ago, after Paul V. McNutt issued his directive freezing workers in certain industries doubly hard, it was my experience to be laid off for lack of work in the electronic industry. McNutt had expressly stated that no workers were to leave their jobs in the electronic industry, and yet because my former employer refuses to take work, I am unemployed, freeze or no freeze.

This manufacturer of electronic equipment has the machinery and the skilled employees to do electronic work, but he refuses to take any further contracts. His machinery stands idle. The worker is frozen to his job, and the manufacturer, ironically enough, doesn't have to face the same penalties and compulsions that the workingman faces since, for some strange reason, "property rights" give him a magic immunity to the law.

I have made extensive inquiries as to whether an essential worker can be laid off when he's frozen, and much to my disgust I find I have no legal protection against "property rights."

ALEXANDER MAN

Hollis, N. Y., June 9

Queer Notion

Dear Sirs: You may be interested at this particular time in this comment which I ran across the other day in a letter from James Russell Lowell to Godkin—written in 1871: "Say something on the queer notion of the Republican Party that they can get along without their brains. 'Time was that when the brains were out, the man would die,' but *nous avons changé tout cela.*"

Certainly the Republican platform was brainless, or dishonest, or both. You are doing a swell job in this preelection summer; in fact, you are doing it all the time. JANET B. FINE

Woodstock, Vermont, July 16

Soldiers and Votes

Dear Sirs: Although it is true that what happened to Pvt. Joe Polachek and his vote is not rare—I am referring to the account in your letter columns of June 10—it would be unfortunate if the impression were given that the same conditions prevail in all outfits.

In our company a lieutenant was assigned the task of helping us with all details, giving us the broader picture in an hour's lecture, after which our C. O. talked to us, urging all those privileged to vote to do so. PRIVATE

Somewhere in Indiana, June 17

Great Job

Dear Sirs: This is just a word of congratulation on the great job you are doing in presenting the issues involved in the Presidential campaign.

Your clear-cut analyses and discussions give new hope to those of us who had become discouraged by the caliber of political intelligence shown recently in Chicago.

The Nation is the one bright spot in the week's reading, and I carefully clip most of the articles to send on to my husband overseas, where they get a wide reading.

Wishing you every success in your task of putting out a forceful and intelligent journal. ELEANOR C. CRARY

Pittsford, N. Y., July 12

Correction

Dear Sirs: A correction is in order for your cross-word puzzle No. 71 in the issue of July 8. The quotation in 8 down is from "Christabel," lines 179-180 (also by Coleridge), and not from "The Ancient Mariner."

JOHN GILLIS, R. C. A. F.

Bowden, Alberta, July 13

CONTRIBUTORS

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, after a career of social work and journalism in America, went to Russia in 1921, and since then has spent most of her time in that country. In 1930 she organized the Moscow *Daily News*, the first English-language newspaper in Russia.

LOUIS FISCHER, a close student of India's problems, lived in Gandhi's house as a guest for a week in 1942. Among his books are "A Week with Gandhi" and "Empire."

ALAN BARTH is an editorial writer for the Washington *Post* who has made an intensive study of television.

WALTER MEHRING, German poet and novelist, was for many years on the staff of *Die Weltbuehne*, a liberal magazine published by the Nobel peace-prize winner Carl von Ossietzky.

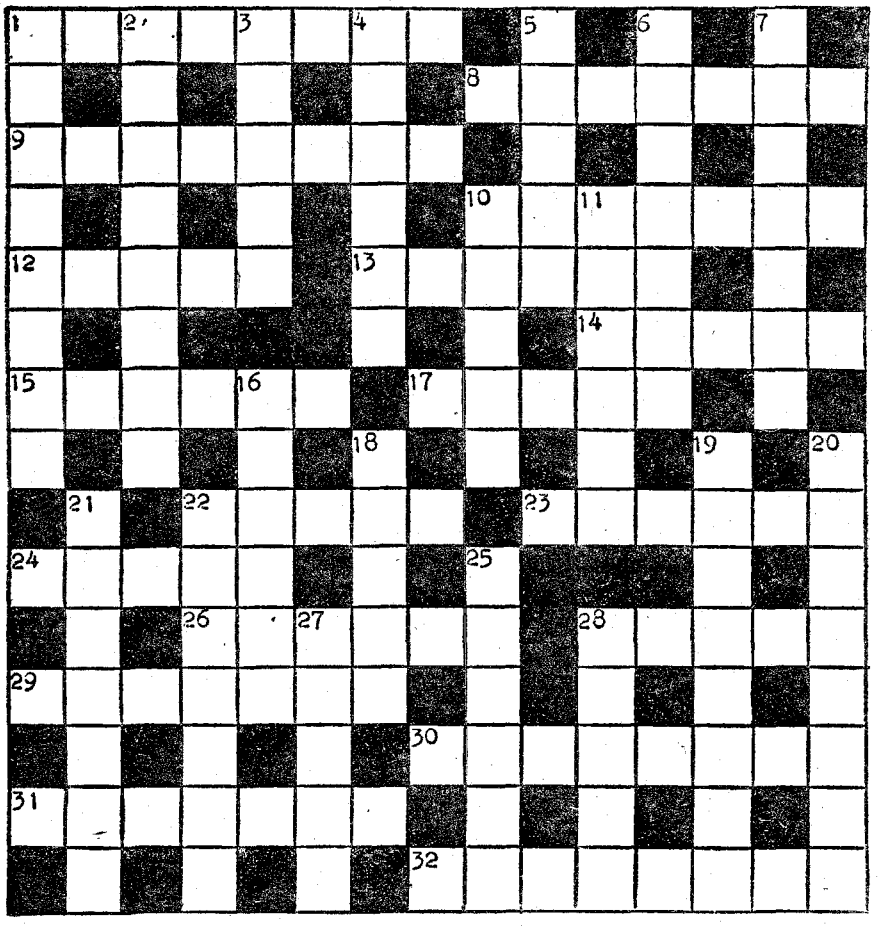
ABRAM KARDINER is the author of "The Individual and His Society."

FRANZ HOELLERING, a native of Vienna, was for many years editor of the *Berliner Zeitung* and the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*. His novel, "The Defenders," deal with the collapse of democracy in Austria. A second novel, "Furlough," will be published shortly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 74

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 His discovery of vulcanized rubber didn't put *him* on his feet, but it put his product on the feet of millions of others
8 Lochiel is the title of the head of this clan
9 One of several, in a Mark Twain book, who saw Europe without any illusions
10 Lay
12 Met me in disorder
13 See it and die, runs the tag
14 This animal comes in later
15 He interposed to save Susannah, in the biblical story
17 Cook, with or without the R
22 What you should drink with curry
23 Italian city "throned on a hundred isles"
24 Reserved for ladies in the East
26 Charge
28 A dealer in magic and spells (*The Sorcerer*)
29 Europe's longest railroad tunnel
30 He can make a lad ride, this former French premier
31 Every gardener would like to grow this
32 Angered

DOWN

1 The patient one—immortalized by Chaucer, Boccaccio and Petrarch
2 Adorn with a name in the center
3 Its sheets have not come apart when it requires tacking
4 Sort of sunshade, usually striped
5 Desert ship
6 Reading of the New World, Sarah?
7 Just the hair preparations for Pa's dome!
10 Slice up fruit and give quarter, or else do without
11 The color that makes the little engineer get up
16 An eel has swallowed a man the wrong way round!
18 Just another nut
19 Wodehouse said that those in mystery stories might be divided into three classes—all silly
20 Made sure as to size
21 Used to swear by mine
22 "Let not women's -------, waterdrops, Stain my man's cheeks!" (*King Lear*)
25 Elderly French marshal in a pet
27 Juliet's lover
28 It isn't an ape or a cow or a camel, but the name of a certain cetaceous mammal

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 73

ACROSS:—1 BREAK THE ICE; 9 GONG; 10 SERVE; 11 EWES; 12 PLATEAU; 13 SHALLOW; 15 IMPORTANT; 16 TRIVET; 18 CASSIO; 21 NEW YEAR'S; 24 AMENDED; 26 STRASSE; 28 ANON; 29 ARENA; 30 DAIS; 31 UNDERTAKERS.

DOWN:—2 RIGHTEOUS; 3 ASSUAGE; 4 TORN; 5 EYESHOT; 6 CREEL; 7 MOSLEM; 8 BEGONE; 14 STING; 17 ICELANDER; 19 AIMING; 20 OVERAGE; 22 WET PACK; 23 RUSSIA; 25 NINON; 27 BELT.

RESORTS

"Fore" the Golfer
Newly Conditioned Course
A Grand "Pro"
New Clubhouse
. . . await your pleasure

. . . 28 miles of beautiful private trails. . . . Also—excellent tennis, boating and fishing on our private 7½ mile lake, golf; game rooms, cocktail lounge, dancing, really fine food . . . congenial atmosphere. Only 57 Miles from New York

The Glenmere
CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 200 (N. Y.) RE. 2-5047

400 Acres—2,500 ft. elevation
MOUNTAIN LAKE FARMS
UNION GROVE, DELAWARE CO., N. Y.
Unusually beautiful location with two large lakes on the premises for swimming and boating. Off the beaten path. Miles of wooded mountain trails.
All sports: fast clay tennis courts, regulation ping pong tables, handball, hunting and fishing. Old-fashioned country square dances.
Grand meals—not strictly Kosher. No social staff.
Rates $35.00 and up
Wire or phone Livingston Manor 182-J-2
Write Jack Keiser, Union Grove, N. Y.
Take train or bus to
Livingston Manor, New York

STEP into the SUN
at
FOREST HOUSE
Short Journey
Long Memories
All the Elements
for complete vacationing. Inspiring location (2 lakes), cordial hospitality, finest food and accommodations. All sports of the Season.
Mahopac 666
50 MILES from N.Y.C.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, New York

Intimate
Different
Delightful
OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, NEW YORK
Tel.: Newburgh 4477. Only 58 miles from N.Y.C.
Enjoy the charm of this Colonial Estate. Spacious grounds. Private Lake. Boating. Swimming. All sports. Unexcelled food. Limited accommodations.

ROMAINE VILLA, Monsey, N. Y. Meals for better health. Ideal for rest and convalescing. Limited accommodations. Spring Valley 525.

GRANITE LAKE CABINS—With private baths; Simmons beds. Water sports, excellent home cooking. Adults only, $60 a week double. Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED